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TRB

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Gobble, Gobble

Suppose you are board chairman of a lively little multi-million dollar company, earning profits, doing fine, with stock quoted at a gratifying $34—up from $15 just a few years ago. Then along comes ITT, the giant conglomerate, and says, "We want you; we will buy your stock for $50 a share and double your salary; better come quietly because we are going to take you anyway!"

Preposterous? That's what ITT did to Avis drive-it-yourself (We Try Harder). It paid 50 percent more for Avis stock than the stock sold for on Wall Street and after a little dickering popped Avis into its bag. It has done this to lots of companies in 50 countries.

In this world of conglomerates the old rules don't hold. When Mr. Nixon gets to Moscow he may find ITT ahead of him. Or perhaps he will act as its traveling front man to expand trade with Russia. Don't laugh. This is an era you never heard of before, where supergiants deal with global leaders, are as powerful as kingdoms, where one of them has entangled Attorney General-designate Richard Kleindienst in its folds as a kind of laughable side show. Did it or did it not promise to foot the bill for the GOP presidential convention at San Diego to the tune of $400,000? So what? An item like that for ITT is like sending a bottle of liquor to your friend at Yuletide; just a nice amenity. It would do the same for Democrats if they controlled the Justice Department and would settle antitrust suits out of court.

To grasp ITT's size, approach the thing by degrees. Back at the turn of the century it was a small company engaged in cables and communications. Then came the merger. ITT branched out, not buying other communications companies but wildly incongruous things. It shortly was the largest bread producer, the largest homebuilder, the largest hotel chain, the second-largest car-rental firm in the country, with dozens of other firms, and its merger with the Hartford Fire Insurance Company was the biggest in history.

How did it pay? Simple enough. It let the companies it acquired pay for themselves. It got a loan from some bank and serviced it from the profits of the companies it bought. Hartford, for example, has a billion-dollar cash flow. Merger-hungry ITT is ravenous for cash.

Very well, take breath! ITT was merely doing what other conglomerates are doing. The statistics are available; the difficulty is to get people to believe them. In manufacturing the top 200 US firms held "only" 49 percent of all the nation's total assets in 1950. By 1967 this was up to 59 percent, and by now it might well be two-thirds. The big companies are not all conglomerates. Five of the 10 top corporations in the US are oil companies. They are aided by amusingly light federal taxation. This light taxation is defended by congressmen from oil states who never have any trouble getting campaign funds. (The 23 largest oil companies pay federal taxes at a rate of only about 8 percent contrasted to around 40 percent for most corporations. You might remember that and rejoice with them as you make out your own income tax!)

Now comes the next stage. The rise of corporate giantism isn't confined to the United States; it's going on with great strength abroad. Most of these companies are international. Where it will end, God knows. One economist has plotted a curve and figures that just 300 international giants will dominate the economies of all the principal non-Communist countries of the world by 1985. Maybe that exaggerates; maybe the year will be 1990, or even 2000. Or maybe it won't happen at all. The question is what governments will do about international companies that are almost taking over the functions of governments.

Take Mr. Nixon and Russia for example. Mr. Nixon wants to expand trade. Last November Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans made his much publicized trip to Moscow in the interest of US trade; now he has resigned to become the GOP's top money-raiser for the campaign. Hardly a month after the Stans visit, ITT opened its own trade explorations with Russia, reportedly with administration encouragement. It was about to send a follow-up team to Moscow ahead of Mr. Nixon when the Kleindienst affair rudely interrupted.

Washington hasn't been so absorbed in anything since the Sherman Adams affair. The governmental problem is the almost unbelievable size of these giants, ITT with $6.7 billion of assets, for example. It used its own size shrewdly in its successful argument to hold Hartford, charging that its divorce by an antitrust suit would cost its stockholders a billion and might cause a Wall Street panic. Kleindienst, to whom Mitchell delegated the affair, first told senators he had no part in negotiations leading to an out-of-court settlement. Now it appears that he directed them.

Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark was appalled when he came to turn the Justice Department over to Mitchell, a Wall Street bond attorney who managed Mr. Nixon's campaign, and Kleindienst, who managed the Goldwater campaign. They seemed quite ignorant of the workings of the department and insensitive to its key role. They politicized the department. Kleindienst was at the center of the litigation over the Pentagon Papers, he ratified Haynsworth and Carswell, and he broke the heart of black leaders by halting civil rights programs.

As for ITT, it regards politicians as investment opportunities. In 1960 a group of ITT executives made contributions to both parties in an effort "To 'butter' both sides so we'll be in a good position whoever wins" according to former vice president J. T. Naylor, in a sworn affidavit. Naylor quoted ITT president Geneen as saying the system is "paying off big in Washington."

The company is probably no worse than other great conglomerates. Rep. Celler's House antitrust subcommittee investigated them in 1969-70. Object, to find whether they are more efficient than medium-sized companies. Answer, no. They should be, perhaps. Their advertising is vaster, their unit costs smaller, their price-fixing power stronger, their ability to transcend laws of supply and demand, and even government controls, unequalled. But the prices they charge the public remain about the same. The Kleindienst show is fun but the deeper question is whether politicians can control these monsters.

NOTES: The New Hampshire primary lifted McGovern's hopes, slowed Muskie's momentum, and disclosed that about 20 percent of the Republicans prefer antiwar McCloskey to the President. If that 20 percent switch to the Democrats this fall it's bad news for the GOP.

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The ITT Scandal

The chief administrator of the Justice Department in its toughest law 'n' order days, John Mitchell's deputy, now the acting attorney general, Richard Kleindienst asked permission the first of this month to exonerate himself publicly before the Senate Judiciary Committee. The committee had already approved him by unanimous vote for confirmation as attorney general, but Kleindienst wanted to defend his integrity against allegations in a recent column by Jack Anderson, and thereby avoid taking office "with a cloud over my head, so to speak." Anderson had printed a memo supposedly written by one of International Telephone and Telegraph's Washington lobbyists, Mrs. Dita Beard, in which she claimed ITT would be handled gently by the antitrust division, because one of the ITT subsidiaries (Sheraton Hotels) had promised up to $400,000 to the Republican convention in San Diego. For two years before ITT offered the contribution, the antitrust division had been refining a legal attack to break up the largest conglomerate merger in history, between ITT and the Hartford Fire Insurance Company. But in the same summer the offer was made, the Justice Department announced that it had reached an agreement with ITT, and that the company would be required to drop some of its lesser subsidiaries rather than its plum, Hartford Insurance. Mrs. Beard's note read, in part: "I am convinced, because of several conversations with Louie [Louie Nunn, former Republican governor of Kentucky] *re* Mitchell, that our noble effort has gone a long way toward our negotiations on the mergers eventually coming out as Hal [Harold Geneen, president of ITT] wants them. Certainly the President has told Mitchell to see that things are worked out fairly. It is still on McLaren's Mickey-Mouse [Richard McLaren, former head of the Antitrust Division] we are suffering."

Kleindienst, McLaren and Felix Rohatyn—an ITT director and spokesman in some of the antitrust negotiations—were all present to testify before the senators on March 2, hoping the cloud over Kleindienst would blow away before lunchtime. Instead, each new answer brought new questions; the clouds grew thicker. The witnesses were held for four days of testimony, and there's more to come. Rejecting "categorically and specifically" the implication of the Beard memo, Kleindienst related the chronology of having spoken to ITT's Rohatyn on the phone, listened to him at Justice, been im-

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pressed by his arguments, and arranged for him to meet with McLaren. Mitchell had disqualified himself because his New York law firm had represented ITT, leaving Kleindienst in charge. Kleindienst in turn allowed the case to be "handled and negotiated exclusively" by his subordinate, Richard McLaren. So he wrote the Democratic National Chairman. (Since then, McLaren has been promoted out to a federal judgeship in Illinois.) Kleindienst said he didn't learn of the contribution to the Republican convention until December, about four months after Justice had settled the ITT negotiations.

McLaren, who claims to have made all decisions about prosecuting ITT, testified that he felt no pressure from his superiors in the Justice Department or the White House; he hadn't heard anyone present ITT's "financial hardship" plea until he met Mr. Rohatyn at Kleindienst's suggestion; and he too never heard of the contribution to San Diego until he read about it in the newspapers.

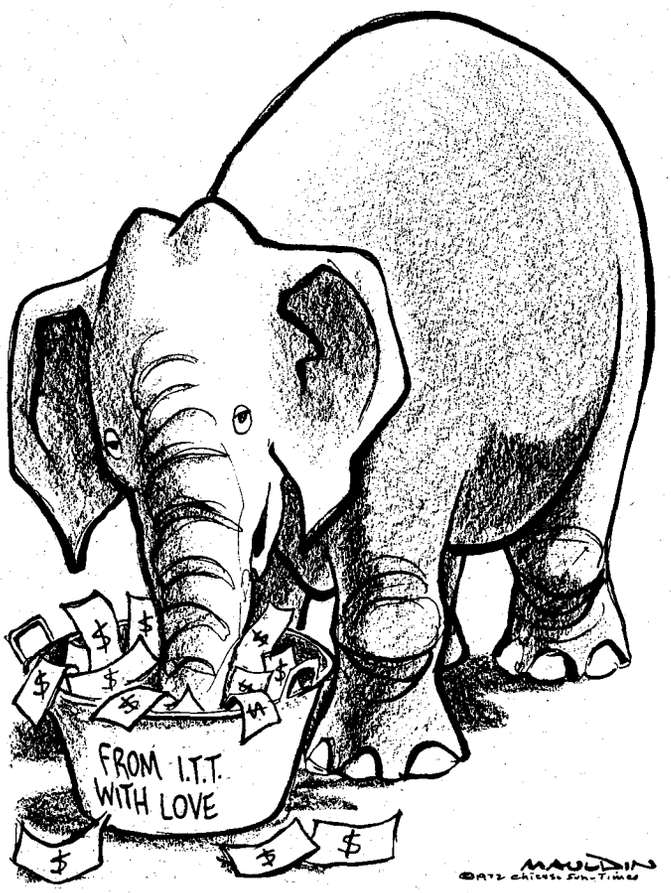
As the government's chief trust-buster, McLaren fought the ITT-Hartford merger hard until he was introduced to ITT's agent, Mr. Rohatyn. After that, he began negotiations that ended in the July 31 compromise, allowing ITT to keep Hartford but requiring it to drop the insurance segments of other companies in the conglomerate family. In testimony, McLaren said he had been determined to take ITT to court, regardless of "economic" or "financial hardship" pleas from the company. "At the time that we filed the Hartford case," he said, "and at the time we brought out the fact that they were paying a $500-million premium, we could foresee that if we were successful, this was going to have a massive financial effect. And yet, I did not feel that we had any right to back away from pursuing the cause and, in fact, there is a Supreme Court decision right on the point in General Motors-Dupont, where the Supreme Court says that if the parties put themselves in this kind of position that it is not a legal reason to forgive the violation of section 7 [of the Clayton Act]." Yet McLaren turned around, and in July gave up the plan to divest ITT of the Hartford Fire Insurance Company.

What changed his mind? By McLaren's account, three arguments convinced him to settle for less than complete divestiture. Felix Rohatyn made the key argument on April 29 before McLaren, Kleindienst and several other Justice Department antitrust lawyers. In sum, he said that taking Hartford away from ITT might cause the company to fold, might throw the stock market into chaos, depress the economy and hurt the US balance of payments. Incredibly, McLaren claims he hadn't really considered these possibilities before. For an outside judgment, McLaren turned to Bruce McLaury—then a deputy undersecretary at the Treasury Department—and asked him what he thought of ITT's presentation. McLaury told him briefly over the phone that he found nothing amiss. More important, however, was a written analysis of ITT's case presented by Richard Ramsden, a 34-year-old New York investment banker, someone McLaren accepted as "an independent financial expert."

Senator Edward Kennedy (D, Mass.) asked McLaren where he had learned of Ramsden, the financial expert, and why he had been chosen. McLaren asked for the question to be repeated, then answered that "either the Treasury or the White House recommended him."

Kennedy: Why would the White House recommend a financial expert in a case?
McLaren: Because I asked them.
Kennedy: To recommend a financial expert?
McLaren: Yes . . .
Kennedy: Who in the White House?
McLaren: Probably Peter Flanigan. But I may have gotten the suggestion of Mr. Ramsden from Mr. McLaury. . . . Either Flanigan or McLaury, I would say. I have no specific recollection."

The New York Times settled the question over the weekend in an interview with Ramsden. He'd been recruited for the job by Flanigan, he'd never spoken to McLaren, he'd written his report at a time when his company held stock in ITT, but Flanigan said he needn't worry about that—just send the report to the White House and it would be forwarded to McLaren. In a "supplemental statement" McLaren said he must



"There seems to be more than one way to tap the phones."

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have asked Flanigan for the Ramsden report, but he couldn't remember doing it.

Nothing in the Senate Judiciary hearings has yet proved deliberate collusion between the Justice Department and ITT. But they have demonstrated what everyone should know, that the administration is accessible and sympathetic to big business. ITT had no difficulty reaching Richard Kleindienst. On the other hand, Ralph Nader's assistant, Reuben Robertson, who had been trying to block the ITT-Hartford merger since its inception, was virtually ignored by the Justice Department's higher echelon. Robertson had been in close contact with Justice Department staff lawyers, who assured him that McLaren was going to insist on divestiture of Hartford. The July 31 settlement thus came as a surprise to Robertson; he was unable to get Justice to release any details of the negotiations or to explain why ITT was not being taken to court. He intervened in proceedings in Hartford, Conn. to force the information into the open, but failed. Afterwards, on September 21, Robertson wrote Kleindienst reminding him of the 15-page legal plea submitted earlier and asking him to withdraw the settlement. McLaren himself wrote the answer the following day, a short note rejecting the plea because "we continue to believe that the settlements worked out in the three ITT merger cases are very much in the public interest."

When Kennedy produced the Robertson letter, neither Kleindienst nor McLaren could remember it. Later, McLaren said he vaguely recalled answering it, but never took it seriously because it contained "an outlandish suggestion" that there may have been a connection between the ITT settlement and the contribution to the Republicans. (Actually, both Kleindienst and McLaren had known of the ITT San Diego offer long before December.) Of Robertson's inquiries, McLaren said, "I'm afraid I didn't pay much attention to them."

Because Kleindienst was adamant that there had been no impropriety, at least two committee members began to wonder what he *would* consider improper. Senator Birch Bayh (D, Ind.) read aloud a section of the US Corrupt Practices Act that makes it unlawful "for any corporation whatever" to make a contribution or expenditure "in connection with any primary election or political convention or caucus held to select candidates" for federal office. Did Kleindienst think it would be wrong for a corporation under prosecution by the Justice Department to spend $400,000 on a party's national convention? Kleindienst said he didn't have the "specific facts," but that his "horseback opinion" was no, there would be no violation.

It's a shoddy story, shot through with evasion, ineptness and impropriety, and it is not finished. For the whole Senate has yet to decide, in view of what is known and what is still to be known, whether to confirm Mr. Kleindienst as Attorney General.

A Lot of Losers

What is remarkable about New Hampshire and Florida is that so many are willing to run themselves ragged running for the presidency, having so little chance of making it, and in more than a few instances no reason why they should make it. We sympathize with Senator Muskie: when the steam begins to come out of a campaign built on the inevitable victory of a frontrunner, there is nothing to do but jam in the earplugs, pretend you don't hear the hissing, and keep on going. Senator McGovern's impressive 37 percent of the Democratic vote in New Hampshire, against Muskie's 48 percent, has cheered his supporters. But with all respect for McGovern's organization, his many splendid statements and the diligence of his supporters, especially the young people, it takes a bit of self-hypnosis to see a loss as a win.

Much was said about "the issues" in the primary. They mattered to some. But we suspect that any reasonably attractive candidate who shakes enough hands in a small state and has his picture taken with enough voters, isn't going to do badly. It's grand to see McGovern confound the pollsters as McCarthy did in New Hampshire in 1968, but the two men who can take most satisfaction from what happened there are Richard Nixon and Hubert Humphrey, and for the same reason—the Democrats are shown to be leaderless, which Mr. Nixon counts on to win the election and Mr. Humphrey counts on to be nominated. Wallace notwithstanding, the outcome of the Florida primary is not likely to upset that assessment. Between them, the two states account for 3.9 percent of the electoral vote. Both went for Mr. Nixon both times he ran for the presidency.

What no one has figured out—and what a group of high-powered political scientists ought to figure out—is whether and how these 23 state presidential primaries are going to answer the important question: how can we get the best qualified nominees? It's not just that there are more primaries this year than ever, it is that they are more truly open, and because of that the competition for delegates is more frantic, the requirement that candidates beat the bushes for votes more insistent. While the candidates are trudging through supermarkets in New Hampshire or Florida, their agents must still worry about precinct caucuses thousands of miles away. In the name of participatory politics, we are creating a monster that, state by state, consumes men and money in a most careless, heartless and unproductive way.

There must be a better way than this for the two parties, the supporters of those parties, to identify and organize behind their most able and electable leaders. The alternative can't be a return to bossism, to a system which allowed a few to dictate to the many. But neither is it the present system. It is too late for '72,

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but we should start thinking about comprehensive reforms that deal not only with the selection process, but with the financing of politics, more comprehensive registration and changes in the nonsensical present arrangement which puts so high a price on access to television.

Six years ago, in his book *Presidential Government*, James MacGregor Burns concluded that, "Our system for choosing Presidents is almost ideal. . . . The seeming disorder of the present presidential primary system reflects a great virtue—its openness. . . . The different kinds of primaries subject the candidates to varying kinds of election machinery, shifting sets of competitors, diverse ranges of popular attitudes and voter participation. . . . The selection process is exacting, and it should be." Today, Professor Burns would concede that the primary system is not all that ideal. Senator Mansfield goes further: all state primaries are "useless and worthless. They are a waste of time, a waste of money, and a waste of energy."

Somewhere between these extremes there is a more sensible system, yet to be devised, one that does not foreclose challenges, that permits sharp definition of the issues, that encourages wide participation of the people in the shaping of party policy, but that does not turn competition for the most powerful office in the land into an auction.

Logrolling

The boom in sales of home wine-making kits would come to an abrupt stop if the Treasury Department were to enforce the Internal Revenue Code. The tax law provides that the head of a family may produce up to 200 tax-free gallons of wine during the year for family use. But he can't sell a drop and he must register with the IRS before he sets up his winery. Subservient wives and single men and women who don't live with related dependents, however, do not qualify as heads of families and therefore can't legally make wine. Very few eligible heads of families interested in wine-making either know about the registration requirement or take it seriously. The Treasury doesn't often raid small home wineries. The law is silly and enforcement would result in blatant, if inconsequential, sexist discrimination.

Wilbur Mills, as chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, last month tried and failed to change the wine-making law, using a little known and dubious legislative procedure under which members of his committee propose amendments ostensibly to correct unintended inequities in the tax law affecting an individual, a small group, a company or an industry. Under this "members bill" procedure, a committee member brings up his proposed tax legislation in a closed meeting of Ways and Means. If no one objects, a report is published and the bill goes to the floor where Mr. Mills summarizes it, and if nobody objects the bill is considered passed. There is no recorded vote. It is customary for congressmen not to oppose others' members bills, because some day everyone will have a pet bill he wants passed without too careful scrutiny. The word for this is logrolling and until this year no one in the House had ever objected to a members bill, except perhaps privately to Mr. Mills.

Rep. Mills estimates that about 50 of these bills were reported and passed last year. That's about average. He regards the members bill as a legitimate way to speed action on worthy legislation which interests only a few people and for which hearings aren't appropriate. Billions of dollars in tax revenue escape through these tax loopholes—$40 billion if you include exemptions enacted in the conventional manner, such as the oil depletion allowance. There are other objections to members bills as well, enunciated last month in the first attempted and successful floor challenge to them.

Freshman Congressman Les Aspin (D, Wisc.), assisted by the House Democratic Study Group, Common Cause and Ralph Nader, studied the 22 members bills—including the wine-making bill sponsored by John Seiberling of Ohio—which were scheduled to come up in the House on February 29. Aspin didn't object to some of them but decided to block all but three on the floor as a test of the procedure itself. (He'd been warned by his friend Rep. Henry Reuss that "The smallest sparrow that flies can stop the Mills machine. All that we need to do is find a sparrow with kamikaze instincts.") Aspin got six other congressmen to sign a letter to Wilbur Mills (Dellums, Drinan, Fraser, Harrington, Hamilton and Abzug) asking that the 22 bills be withdrawn. Otherwise they vowed objections would be raised on the floor thus foiling unanimous consent. These relatively young liberals were joined by 78-year-old Wright Patman, the antibank Texas congressman who chairs the Banking and Currency Committee. Patman's aides say he has long railed against the members bill procedure privately, seeing it lately as a means by which the heralded Tax Reform Act of 1969 is whittled away by exemptions. Patman last month particularly objected to one bill—the most expensive of the 22—the effect of which would be to reduce taxes paid by banks by some 70 million. Patman decided to lend his prestige to the insurgency.

The 22 bills ranged from meritorious to indefensible. The four that were allowed to pass February 29 provided, respectively, for tax exemptions for prisoners of war during the period of their imprisonment; a tax break for US nationals in American Samoa giving them the same right to claim personal exemptions on their federal income tax returns enjoyed by American citizens; a prohibition of the import to the US of pre-Columbian artworks exported illegally from countries

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of origin; and tax exempt status to veterans organizations engaging in programs involving "Americanism, youth activities, community activities and information and education programs relative to national security and foreign affairs." This last slipped by accidentally, illustrating how easily poor law can be enacted under the procedure. The other three were considered too obviously worthwhile by the liberals to oppose, even on principle. Among the losers were bills to benefit the olive industry (by suspending tariffs), the tire people (by changing the basis on which rubber in retreads is taxed), the cigar business (by reducing the tax rate on large stogies) and a shrimp-boat owner or two (taxes on boat repairs). The Patman-Aspin insurgency caused these narrow items to be postponed.

The members bill procedure is vulnerable to attack on several grounds. Hearings are nonexistent, committee work isn't public, there's no time for members to read reports before bills are passed under unanimous consent. Most members bills appear to violate House Rule 13, which requires revenue legislation to state precisely the anticipated effect in terms of gain or loss to the Treasury. The bills often slide over Rule 13 and say only that the effect will be "negligible." The bills quite often are vague about who is going to benefit from them. If beneficiaries were identified and the vote were recorded, many of them would never pass. The loopholes and exemptions created often have no termination date.

Aspin hopes that congressmen will continue to challenge members bills when there are grounds for challenge and that a bill of his own—requiring that all tax exemption legislation be reconsidered by Congress every two years or else allowed to lapse—will be enacted. It would add to the members' workload but it would also add to the federal treasury.

The Right to Quiet

Julius Caesar was so fed up with the noise in ancient Rome he nearly put an end to the chariot. Queen Elizabeth I wanted to make it unlawful for a man to beat his wife after 10 p.m. But the streets of Rome before Christ and Elizabethan England cannot match urban bustle. Studies have shown that the cacophony has doubled in the last ten years in our cities. No longer is it just the industrial worker who must fear for his hearing. The Environmental Protection Agency reports that as many as 80 million Americans, or 40 percent of the population, are harmed by noise.

Noise irritates the whole body, causing systemic reactions that upset the normal flow of activity, within the body. Robert Alex Baron writes in his book, *The Tyranny of Noise*, that after the brain receives a noise message, "The brain puts the body on a war footing. The repetition of these alerts is exhausting. It depletes energy levels; it can cause changes in the chemistry of the blood, in the volume of the blood circulation; it places a strain on the heart; . . . it can be a form of torture. It can so weaken the body's defense mechanisms that disease can more readily take hold."

Enter the House of Representatives, on February 29. By a 356 to 32 vote, it approved the Noise Control Act of 1972. Although not everything that environmentalists had hoped for, the bill—which now goes to the Senate—is "a strong first step toward dealing with one of the most personal rights, the right to peace," in the words of Rep. Tim Lee Carter (R, Ky.). The bill provides for decibel standards to be set on machinery and products that are known to be potential or actual noise hazards. Fines of up to $25,000 can be imposed on manufacturers who don't adhere to these standards, and—very important—for citizen suits if the government does not act within 60 days of a suspected violation. Moreover, the bill would use the tremendous purchasing power of the federal government to pay up to 25 percent over regular prices for certain low-noise-level machinery and equipment. It offers the states technical assistance to set up local programs.

The proposed law could be better. It retains authority in the Federal Aviation Administration for regulating aircraft noise, though that agency has done nothing with the power Congress gave it three years ago to regulate noise; environmentalists wanted this authority placed in the EPA, which is a stronger regulatory agency than the FAA. The bill does not give EPA the power to initiate suits; instead, EPA must turn all complaints over to the Justice Department for prosecution. The bill also has no funding to help states set up programs for noise control; and until this is done, noise control will lag far behind air and water pollution control; and we haven't exactly solved those problems, even with federal funding. Finally, the bill falls short of a proposal by Rep. William R. Ryan (D, NY) to label *all* mechanical and electrical products as to decibel level, so that the consumer can take this information into account in his purchase decision. Surveys indicate consumers are willing to pay at least 10 percent more for quietly running products.

About a year ago, Congressman Ryan held hearings in New York and found that one of his strongest supporters for his tough anti-noise bill was Tony Crimmins, a vice-president of the Thomas Crimmins Contracting Company. Crimmins told the hearing that he had to purchase soundproofed air compressors for a job near a hospital at an increased cost of about 25 percent. In all his subsequent bids, however, Crimmins has mentioned his noiseless equipment. In an industry that can be hurt most by being shut down by citizen complaints, Crimmins Contracting has gotten along fine with its neighbors. There's a lesson in this experience for other producers and manufacturers.

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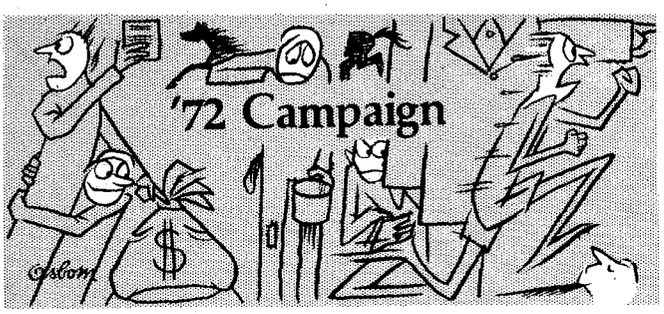
Space Math

When the President authorized NASA to go ahead and build its space shuttle, the price tag read $5.5 billion, with a contingency overrun fund of another billion. Since then, NASA has had to clarify its budget calculations. Although NASA defined its terms carefully from the start, saying that it would cost $5.5 billion to *develop* the shuttle, it left room for speculation by never saying how much it would cost to *fly* the shuttle. Senator Walter Mondale (D, Minn.), who calls the scheme a "colossal waste," believes it will produce nothing more than a "space truck" costing $30 billion—perhaps as much as $40 billion if a space station is built. He arrives at this estimate by adding up the expense of launching the shuttles, maintaining bases and buying the equipment they will carry into space.

In February NASA tried to end the guess work by printing a full schedule of shuttle costs as far as they have been computed. This "appendix" on space shuttle economics adds a new sum of $1.5 billion for "procurement of production flight hardware and facilities," which, combined with the original $5.5 billion, comes to $7 billion. Later in the pamphlet, the figure goes up again, so as to include costs of flying the "mission model"—arriving at $8.3 billion, the "total investment and development 1972-1990." This is a healthy jump from the $5.5 billion quoted in the first news stories. It can be driven higher, though, if you add in payload costs (the expense of building the equipment to be carried in this space truck)—estimated by NASA to reach about $22.6 billion for the 12 years following 1979. This isn't entirely fair, because much of this equipment would be sent into space with or without a space shuttle, and shouldn't be counted in direct shuttle costs. But for the sake of inclusiveness, throw it in, too. That comes to a grand total of $30.9 billion.



Walker's Long Shot

There's an air of optimism among the champions of independent gubernatorial candidate Dan Walker that's matched only by the quiet confidence around Lt. Gov. Paul Simon, his opponent in the Democratic primary in Illinois. Both predict victory March 21; both appear to mean it. The odds have to be with Simon, who has a good legislative record. Not only was he slated by the Daley machine, which produces hundreds of thousands of votes in its Chicago strongholds, but Simon has a following among independent liberals in the state and personal strength downstate. All the big names have endorsed Simon—Sen. Adlai Stevenson III, Rep. Abner Mikva, Newton Minnow.

However, Walker has gotten some breaks and he's exploiting them to the maximum with a well-financed media campaign and a volunteer organization that promises to roll up heavy majorities for him in some of the suburban districts. He also claims to be leading in new depth surveys of downstate voters. Walker launched his campaign with a 1200-mile walk across Illinois last summer and fall that gave him wide voter recognition and an upward surge in the polls. Then, his campaign leveled off. He gets good response with his attack on Daley, but not enough to fire the masses of voters.

Walker's biggest break came when Simon said he favors upping the state income tax while removing personal property taxes and the sales tax on food and medicine. That's the issue Walker's exploiting and with some effect in the closing days of the campaign, claiming the people have been fooled before by politicians who say they'll take one tax off and put another on, only to end up keeping both. Walker has toured the state holding press conferences with a chart he says proves the income tax would have to be tripled to make up for the taxes Simon wants to take off. Simons denies this, but he won't give a figure on the increase he has in mind. His aides talk in terms of raising the state income tax from 2½ percent to 3½ or 4 percent.

Daley said the tax proposal sent "shudders" up his spine. Walker claims to have inside information that Daley precinct captains are already reporting they can't carry their districts for Simon because of that issue. If it hurts Simon badly in Chicago, he could be in trouble. Walker's people claim 6000 volunteers, the bulk of them in the suburban ring around Chicago, in the high-rises along the shore and on the campuses. They're working hard. He also picked up the backing of the big volunteer organizations—Independent Voters of Illinois (IVI) and The Independent Precinct Organization (IPO), the McCarthy-spawned group that wrestled two aldermanic seats from the Daley organization on the North Side.

Walker is urging Republicans who like neither Gov. Richard Ogilvie, the GOP incumbent, nor a Daley-sponsored man to cross over in the primary. To win, Walker must carry downstate with some help from the huge concentrations of students at major schools, a group of new voters the Simon people acknowledge are leaning heavily to Walker, and roll up impressive margins in the suburban ring with the help of GOP defectors. He must also hold Simon's margin in Chi-

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cago down by cutting up his blue-collar support on the tax issue. It's a long shot.

Money Raising

The Council for a Livable World is asking its members to send checks to two Senate candidates—James Abourezk in South Dakota and William Hathaway in Maine. Both are Democratic members of the House. CLW says Abourezk's "compassion, vision and energy should serve him well in the Senate and strengthen the group of liberals who intend to make 'reordering of national priorities' more than a political catchphrase." Abourezk is seeking the seat of Sen. Karl Mundt (R,SD) and has led in recent polls. Hathaway's competition is Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R,Me.), who recently announced she will be a candidate for a fifth term. Citing "an impressive record during seven years in office," CLW says, "the voice of Bill Hathaway in the Senate will be one of reason. It is one that is needed." CLW divides contributors by alphabet, with one group requested to send checks to Abourezk and the other to Hathaway.

Emasculated

The New York State legislature has created an etymological crisis. In the 1970 census, the state loses two congressional seats, and a proposed plan for apportioning the remaining 39 districts contains a "gerrymander" so extensive as to render that term meaningless.

Lower Manhattan, a neighborhood conglomerate including Greenwich Village, Chinatown, Little Italy and the Lower East Side, has existed as a contiguous congressional district for generations. With the growth of suburban population, the district has expanded geographically, hooking up around the West Side to the border of New York's "Silk Stocking" district. The melting pot neighborhoods are the core of the constituency that sent Bella Abzug to the House in 1970.

Bella has become the country's most effective spokesman for the political rights of women; her manner is nothing, if not direct. If she has tried the patience of the male-dominated House in Washington over the past two years, the reapportionment plan of the (male-dominated) New York State Assembly in Albany will take care of that. Ms. Abzug's district would simply be eliminated, divided wildly between four other districts, with the heart of her support—the Village, Chinatown and Little Italy, perhaps the most liberal voters in the country—to be attached to Staten Island, a stronghold of suburban conservatism. The poverty ridden Lower East Side, gets tacked onto the Silk Stocking area, probably the richest congressional district in the country.

According to Webster, to gerrymander is to machinate or alter a voting area to one's own advantage. (Elbridge Gerry + (sala)mander, from the shape of an election district formed in (1812) Massachusetts when Gerry was Governor.)

Bella Abzug's congressional district has not been altered; it has been vaporized. A term appropriate to the plan is "Beliminate"—(Abzug, Bel(la) + (el)-iminate; to alter the shape of an election district so as to cause its elimination; also, to cause a congresswoman to disappear).

Steps Toward Integration

During the past several weeks, the Senate has been engaged in a long and emotional debate over school integration. It has been apparent for some time, however, that the racial isolation in our schools reflects the underlying segregation of our society along racial and economic lines.

On March 2, the Senate passed a comprehensive housing bill, S 3248, designed to help bridge the growing gap between the suburbs and central cities. Urban development programs such as urban renewal, water and sewer grants and neighborhood facilities would be consolidated into a single system of community development grants. Among other requirements, cities and towns applying for such assistance would have to develop plans that "meet the housing needs and needs arising from the installation or relocation of government facilities, including replacement and relocation needs of families who may reasonably be expected to seek housing in the community, particularly those families with low or moderate incomes. . . ."

The 1970 census validated the warnings that our country—North and South—is dividing into increasingly black central cities and white suburbs. In the last 10 years central cities lost 2½ million whites and gained 3 million blacks. At the same time, suburbs in the 66 largest metropolitan areas gained 12.5 million whites and only 800,000 blacks. The suburbs generally remain 95 percent or more white while the cities become blacker and blacker each year.

Most new jobs are also locating in the suburbs. The Suburban Action Institute found that from 1948 to 1967 the 39 largest metropolitan areas gained 5.1 million jobs in manufacturing, wholesale trade, retail trade and related services. The suburbs gained 4,369,000 or 85 percent of these jobs. An analysis of nonresidential building permits reveals that in the last few years approximately 70 percent of all metropolitan industrial buildings were constructed outside the central cities.

Working-class whites as well as blacks, however, often find the suburbs closed to them. Housing prices

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begin in some areas at $40,000, well above what the average worker can afford. Numerous suburbs are discovering that they have even priced their teachers, firemen, policemen and other municipal employees out of their communities. The result is that suburbs across the nation have been able to seek and attract new industries while at the same time excluding many of the employees these industries need. Our present federal housing policies have tolerated if not actually encouraged this development. It is indefensible for federal agencies to locate facilities in communities where the lack of adequate housing turns their workers into either long-distance commuters or names on an unemployment compensation list. And yet this is what has happened time after time.

In the Washington, DC area, for example, many government agencies including the National Bureau of Standards, the Atomic Energy Commission, the US Public Health Service and the Geological Survey have moved or plan to move into the suburbs. Inevitably, the absence of available housing near these new locations has forced hundreds of dedicated low-and moderate-income workers to give up their jobs.

A year ago I introduced the Government Facilities Location Act as a companion bill to the Urban Education Improvement Act, S 1283, which calls for a 10-year program of school integration on a metropolitan basis. The Government Facilities Location Act is designed to grant the economic benefits of site location only to those communities that are also willing to assume responsibilities for the new workers. It says that before a federal facility or federal contractor's facility may be located or expanded in any community, the community must guarantee that it will provide at least one unit of adequate housing for each prospective low- or moderate-income employee of the new facility. The city's promise would take the form of an enforceable contract between the city and the chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

While the bill passed by the Senate March 2 does not cover federal contractors, its focus on the impact of the location of federal facilities is a positive first step. Once we have gained experience under this provision, I would hope that coverage would be expanded to include government contractors as well. Just as we should not subsidize communities anxious to obtain the benefits of a federal facility without assuming any responsibility for its workers, so we should not allow government contractors to locate in areas unwilling to house their employees.

If we can begin to end the economic and racial segregation in housing patterns, we will have eliminated much of the need for lengthy debates over neighborhood schools, federal court orders and busing.

Abe Ribicoff

ABE RIBICOFF, *former Secretary of HEW, is the senior senator from Connecticut.*

In The Public Interest

Don't Eat That Dog

What's in a frankfurter? This question is being answered in disturbing detail: fraud, low nutritional value and health hazards abound, in varying degrees, in most of the 15 billion franks sold annually.

The hot dog is offering less nutrition and more fat and added water now than its predecessor did 35 years ago during the depression. In 1937, US Department of Agriculture tests showed frankfurters to average 19 percent fat and 19.6 percent protein. Currently, the percentages average out at 28 percent fat and about 11.7 percent protein. A permissive USDA also permits adding 10 percent water and many processors exceed that level while the government keeps looking the other way. New technologies in meat processing have facilitated such adulterations in ways not possible a few decades ago. Most processors find selling more fat, water and other fillers at meat prices difficult to resist. But they do resist fully labeling ingredients while they tout their "all meat" or "all beef" franks. As protein goes the hot dog is very expensive. For those advised by physicians to stay on a low animal fat diet, the hot dog is out of the question.

Clearly, something less than the best meat goes into frankfurters. One purpose served by cooked sausage products, such as hot dogs, is to sell the portions of beef cattle that could not be sold undisguised. Federal law, always considerate of the industry, allows the inclusion of esophagi, lips, snouts, ears and other edible offal, in addition to skeletal muscle tissue. The 1967 congressional hearings produced evidence of the use of "4D" animals (dead, dying, diseased and disabled) in processed meat products. The slums receive a disproportionate share of these items. Just recently, Consumers Union concluded tests of frankfurters which found 40 percent of widely available brands to contain bacteria counts exceeding 10 million per gram, with one reaching 140 million bacteria per gram. Food specialists say that putrefaction sets in at the 10 million per gram level. New York City regulations stipulate a maximum permissible level of 100,000 bacteria per gram—a level itself ten times what some experts recommend. As in previous tests of pork sausage, Consumers Union found insect fragments and rodent remains in about one-sixth of the samples, underlining the sanitation problems of many meat plants.

The most serious recent development involves scientific concern, based on numerous animal tests conducted in this country and abroad, over the hazards of sodium nitrate and sodium nitrite. In particular, sodium nitrite, a chemical byproduct of sodium nitrate, is supposed to inhibit the growth of bacteria. As a cosmetic in many meat products, its chief purpose is

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to keep the meat a reddish color so it won't turn an unappetizing grey. Norway has issued a prohibition of the use of nitrite effective at the end of this year. There as well as here, scientists are worried about two effects on humans of sodium nitrite. One is on infants. These nitrites in franks can cause a particular impairment in the ability of infants' blood to carry oxygen. The risk increases with the amount of nitrites consumed but since the main purpose of the ingredient is cosmetic, why should infants assume such risks?

The other hazard affects adults and children alike and it is a top priority concern of the Food and Drug Administration and the USDA. Nitrites combine with certain substances called amines in food and the human body to form nitrosamines. Last year, before a House of Representatives subcommittee investigating food additives, Dr. William Lijinsky, a cancer researcher at the Atomic Energy Commission's Oak Ridge National Laboratories, testified that "Nitrosamines . . . seem to be most effective in eliciting tumors when they are applied as small doses over a long period, rather than as large single doses." He noted that most nitrosamimes tested caused cancer in test animals. To emphasize that there is no known safe level for these substances, Dr. Samuel Epstein, a respected toxicologist at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland, called nitrosamines "one of the major public health issues of our time."

Consumers have petitioned the USDA to ban all cosmetic uses of sodium nitrate and sodium nitrite. Another consumer suit has also been filed in federal court to have the USDA ban the use of the growth-promoting synthetic hormone, stilbestrol, in cattle and sheep. Twenty countries have already banned this cancer-causing hormone.

The Nixon administration is not prepared to voluntarily respond to any of these pleas for action before the election. The meat industry is still politically stronger than the consumer movement.

Any scrutiny of the ubiquitous hot dog, and other cooked sausage and ground meat products like hamburgers, reveals the nearly total absence of local, state and federal law enforcement. Periodically, USDA inspectors or local officials uncover the most fraudulent and repulsive conditions but little is done.

What lulls consumers into docile acceptance is not their belief that the government is looking out for them; rather it is the ingenious misuse of modern chemistry, which can make hot dogs visually attractive, tasty, tender and appetizing. The chemical violence to health registers years later when it is most difficult to trace back to the causative agent. That is why full disclosure and prevention should be the order of the day. Given what science knows about frankfurters it should not take many aroused consumers to get their government to impose the required corporate "law and order" to stop a major consumer abuse.

Ralph Nader

The Nixon Watch

Back Home

Just before the President went to China, he told John D. Ehrlichman, George P. Shultz and other senior assistants who stayed at home to mind the store that he expected them to have a full domestic agenda ready for him when he got back. After a few days for him to rest up from the China trip, and for the country to absorb and appreciate the extent and implications of his anticipated success in Peking, he intended to turn with a spectacular display of activity and concern to home affairs, and the job of his top assistants in his absence was to prepare the position papers and travel schedules that this shift of posture and emphasis would require.

Mr. Nixon found when he returned that the job had been done, though not to his total and immediate satisfaction. The difficulty was with the alternative schedules for domestic travel that had been drafted for him in countless hours of staff committee work. Several circumstances made the task hard for the men who were trying to satisfy the President. For one thing, they discovered that the eight weeks or so that would intervene between the return from China and the period of preparation for his Moscow trip in May seemed to afford surprisingly few occasions—conventions, community affairs, park and dam dedications, and the like—that could be made to call for and justify a presidential visit. The party primaries occurring in several states and the campaigning everywhere also complicated the task. Mr. Nixon having said that he wouldn't campaign for reelection until after he was renominated in San Diego, he ordered that he not be scheduled for appearance in any state just before or just after a primary and that none of the arranged events be so blatantly political that the dullest citizen would perceive that he was doing what he had said he wouldn't do at this stage. The biggest difficulty, however, had to do with the President himself and his impassioned refusal to be committed to any position, action or public performance that he has not personally approved. Advance commitment, or the mere impression of commitment without his explicit approval, is one of the few things that drives Nixon to open and explosive anger. His senior staff has never forgotten the lesson he gave its members in early 1970 when, in flight from Washington to his California home in San Clemente, he canceled an entire itinerary prepared for him in the Midwest and along the West Coast because he had not in his opinion been consulted in sufficient detail about each of the stops. The vaguest inquiry as to whether local officials and organizations would welcome a Nixon visit is likely to stimulate premature announcements that the President is coming, and when this happens there is trouble at the White House. In

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the ten days after his return from China, Mr. Nixon proved to be unusually hard to please. The word on March 8 was that he still intended to take the road, but not the roads that so far had been suggested to him.

The transition from foreign summitry to home concerns was not an instant process, however. First, the day after the President's return, there were sessions with the bipartisan congressional leadership and with the Cabinet at which Mr. Nixon appeared to be at once tired, exuberant, and serenely confident that in Peking he had made an enduring place in history for himself and changed the world for the better. His hearers learned nothing more of the substance of his talks with Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai than the public had been told. He did say, more emphatically and clearly than Henry Kissinger and others had said, that he discussed the Vietnam war and the obstacles to ending it with Premier Chou. Beyond that, on that subject, he didn't go. His major emphasis was upon the importance that he attached to the meetings themselves, to the warm welcome he got from Mao, the long hours of intimate talk with Chou, and the useful perceptions of each other that he thought he and Chou acquired. He dealt with the suspicion of some of his conservative critics that he had sold out the nationalist Chinese on Taiwan, but he didn't seem to be worried about it and said that events would show beyond argument that the charge was false. The President made a point of giving Secretary of State William P. Rogers the floor, obviously to counter the impression that Rogers had played second fiddle to Henry Kissinger in China. As he was to say a few days later at a press conference, Rogers assured the Cabinet that he was wholly pleased with the China venture and with his part in it. He told a little story about the tiny metal US flag-pins that the President gave each member of his official party, with instructions to wear them in their lapels as Mr. Nixon did. It's the kind of display that Rogers doesn't normally go for, and he said he kept forgetting during the first days in Peking to put the pin in his lapel. Then he got the point, he said, the point of pride in being an American with Nixon in China that the pins signified, and after that he wore his pin every day.

The preparatory homework began to pay off in Florida, where the President retired to rest and plan the coming domestic show. A strong restatement of his dedication to his national health plan, based upon federally and privately financed commercial insurance for everybody, and of his opposition to the much more costly plan proposed by Senator Kennedy and others, was followed in Washington by a stream of domestic pronouncements. They dramatized his claims that this administration is doing more than any previous administration has done to feed hungry Americans; to give minorities a fair shake in federal and private hiring and promotion; to provide summer jobs for deprived youngsters; to simplify and reduce the classification of government documents; and to reform and supplement with federal funds the state and local financing of public schools. The procession through the White House press room of officials and presidential commission chairmen, proclaiming and amplifying these real and alleged achievements, demonstrated the matchless capacity of an incumbent President to dominate the news and, in such a year as 1972, to run hard for reelection simply by seeming to be a zealous and active President.

Two vexatious problems marred the return. One of them was the busing issue and the President's promise, given before he went off to China, to come clean on the way in which he would prefer to restrict the power of the federal courts to require more and more school busing. The other problem was how to deal with the suspicion of White House hanky-panky in connection with antitrust concessions made by the Justice Department to the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation and the subsequent pledge by one of its subsidiaries, the Sheraton Hotel Corporation, to underwrite somewhere between $100,000 and $400,000 of the cost of holding the Republican convention this summer in San Diego, a short chopper hop from the Western White House.

Few if any Nixon staff operations have exceeded, in agony and magnitude, the study of alternatives and foreseeable consequences that preceded the President's choice of a course to take on busing. His opposition to busing, on the scale required by the courts, was not in question. Neither was the fact that Nixon had done more than any other individual to make busing a corrosive and essentially deceptive national issue. The question before him was whether to advocate an effort to curb the courts by constitutional amendment or by legislation—and, if the latter, by what kind of legislation. The advice offered him went heavily against amendment and for legislation, but with very little confidence in the efficacy of any conceivable legislation. The truth on the eve of his busing pronouncement was that Mr. Nixon had got himself into a most unhappy situation. Stuck with his promise to declare some choice, he was offered alternative choices which seemed likely to engender more trouble and difficulty than they could possibly remedy. Nixon had his spokesmen say he didn't want to appear to be trying to influence the outcome of the Florida primary on March 14, in which busing was a referendum issue, or to be influenced by the Florida vote. One of the cuter suggestions made to him was that he get around this difficulty by announcing his busing preference on the day of the primary.

A fact that made the ITT controversy an especially sensitive matter for the President was generally overlooked. It was that putting the Republican convention in San Diego, a city whose leading personalities didn't ask for it on their own initiative and didn't much want

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it, was Mr. Nixon's personal wish and project. Two Californians on his staff, former Lieutenant Governor Robert Finch and former San Diego editor Herbert Klein, conveyed the President's desire to the San Diego mayor and others in power there last May. Finch said publicly that it would be a shame if San Diego didn't bid for the convention, and sure enough it did and the GOP national committee chose San Diego over several other cities that really wanted it. This history may have had nothing at all to do with the established facts that Peter M. Flanigan, the corporate contact man at the White House, helped get a favorable antitrust decision for ITT; that ITT's Sheraton subsidiary thereafter promised substantial help with the convention costs; and that (as Don Bacon of the Newhouse Newspapers discovered and reported last August) it had been agreed that Mr. Nixon would stay at a new Sheraton Hotel in San Diego when he flew over from San Clemente to accept renomination. What impresses me in all this, the more sinister implications aside, is the evidence that nobody at the White House, from the President down, was bright enough to foresee the embarrassment or worse that was bound to result if and when the facts came out.

John Osborne

Unionizing the Rural South

Pulpwood Peonage

by Peter Barnes

McLain, Miss.

An observer looking for the causes of poverty in the rural South might arrive at an explanation along these lines: outside capital is attracted by the presence of valuable resources, generous tax incentives and anti-labor laws. It pays little in the way of wages, and little in the way of local taxes. It buys off the local power structure, exports mosts of its profits to shareholders elsewhere in the country, and leaves the people of the rural South little better off than before.

This kind of analysis applies rather accurately to the paper and pulpwood industry in the South. The flatlands of Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia and north Florida abound in pine, oak, hickory and other hardwoods. During the 1930s, at about the same time that cotton sharecropping was declining, the major domestic paper companies, including St. Regis, International Paper, Scott, Georgia-Pacific and Masonite, began buying land and expanding their milling operations in the South. Today about two-thirds of the nation's pulp products originate near the Gulf coast.

The people who harvest the raw materials for the forest products industry are known as cutters or haulers. No one is sure exactly how many cutters there are in the South, but the figure is probably around 200,000, about evenly divided between blacks and whites. Many are former sharecroppers or the sons of sharecroppers.

Very few of the woodcutters are direct employees of the paper companies. They are, nominally, independent contractors who sell wood to dealers, who in turn sell it to paper companies. They are thus not covered by minimum wage legislation, and receive no company payments for retirement, sickness or unemployment compensation. Many are in debt and at the mercy of their dealers, who loan money for trucks and equipment.

Punch Harvison is a typical example. He is white, 53, the son of a tenant farmer and father of eleven. After the war he worked briefly in the Mobile, Alabama shipyards, and then helped build a bridge near Pascagoula, Miss. Then he moved with his family to McLain, Miss., in the heart of pulpwood country, and began hauling wood. He now lives about five miles out of town, at the end of a dirt road, in a cinderblock house with electricity and television, but without a telephone.

Harvison hauls wood about ten months a year; he loses two months to wet weather and breakdowns on his truck. Weekday mornings, and sometimes Saturdays, he drives off around dawn, with a helper, to an area that he has arranged to log. If all goes well he will have cut and delivered to a dealer about five units of wood before sundown (a unit is slightly larger than a cord). The dealer will give him about $22 per unit. Out of this he must pay between $5 and $8 per unit for stumpage (the fee paid to landowners for permission

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to harvest their trees), about $10 a day for gas and oil, plus all maintenance costs on his truck and saws (if a tire hits a stump and blows out, the cost is about $100). At the end of a good year, he may clear $3000. Other woodcutters, who are still making payments on their trucks, clear less. "It ain't what we want," says Harvison, "and it ain't what we need. It's barely surviving, that's all."

Last fall, Harvison and several hundred other woodcutters in Mississippi went on strike. The strike began when the Chicago-based Masonite Corporation switched from measuring units by volume to measuring them by weight. The effect was to increase the size of the average unit by about 20 percent, thus reducing the pay to woodcutters by about the same amount.

Masonite owns more than 300,000 acres of timberland in southwestern Mississippi, but relies for its pulpwood primarily on deliveries from other private lands. After the switch to a larger weighted unit, the 200 or so haulers who deliver directly to the Masonite plant stopped cutting. They got in touch with James Simmons, an energetic white Alabaman who since 1967 had been trying to organize woodcutters into a union. Simmons came and spoke to the Masonite woodcutters, urged them to hold out against the company, and pledged the support of the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association, the fledgling union of which he is president. When Masonite continued to bring wood by railroad into its Laurel plant from dealers elsewhere in the state, the strike rapidly spread to other dealers and companies.

The GPA had almost no resources with which to support the strikers. Its bank balance was less than $600. Aside from Simmons, its staff consisted of about six organizers, funded (at subsistence levels) by a couple of church groups and the Southern Conference Educational Fund, a leftist organization that has been trying since 1938 to promote coalitions between white and black workers.

The immediate problem was to enable the strikers to eat. The woodcutters appealed to John Bell Williams, then governor of the State, and to Bill Waller, then the Democratic nominee and now governor, and were brushed aside. They then turned to Mayor Charles Evers of Fayette, who helped arrange relief payments from the NAACP, and, with liberal Democratic support in Washington, got the strikers eligible to purchase food stamps. Additional donations of food, clothing, money and food stamps came from Movement supporters in the North. The GPA also appealed to the AFL-CIO, the UAW and other unions, but, except for contributions from a few militant locals, received no support from organized labor. Members of Local 5-443 of the International Woodworkers of America, AFL-CIO—the people who work inside the Masonite plant—crossed the woodcutters' picket lines daily.

There were, of course, a number of haulers who continued to bring wood to the yards, but after three months the paper companies were apparently hurting enough to make concessions. Masonite announced it would give the woodcutters a choice between the weight and volume unit, and would boost payments by about 20 percent, or back to the pre-strike level. Other companies granted a $1 or $2 raise per unit. That was enough to end the work stoppage, if not the woodcutters' poverty.

The Mississippi woodcutters' strike yields several lessons. The first is that the forest products industry, now one of the largest in the South, is as dependent upon exploited labor as was cotton sharecropping before it. Another is that poverty in the rural South won't be eliminated by OEO projects (though they're helpful), bigger welfare checks (which woodcutters don't want), greater tax incentives for industry, or more highway construction. There must be structural economic changes so that people receive a decent living for a day's work, and so that wealth produced by their labor is not siphoned off to distant beneficiaries.

Another somewhat tentative observation is that poor workers in rural America are at last organizing with some success. The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has made progress in California and now in Florida. The Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association, though still very small, gained considerable confidence and some national recognition as a result of the Mississippi strike. It badly needs to develop local leadership and a network of support groups in the North, but after five years of struggling it is finally off the ground. It now claims 6000 members, about 60 percent of whom are black, plus a lot of sympathetic woodcutters who would join in future actions. There is hopeful talk in pulpwood country of another strike, perhaps coupled with a boycott like those of UFWOC; of an antitrust suit against the paper companies, which all pay about the same for wood; of cooperative wood yards and purchasing programs; of doing away with the dealer system and selling direct to the paper companies at a contracted price. All of this is still a long way down the road, but at least the road is visible.

It would be wrong, however, to overstate the prospects of the GPA. The South has never been a hospitable place for unions, and the obstacles to organizing woodcutters are immense. In addition to the perennial shortage of funds there are the sheer logistical problems created by geographical dispersion and a scarcity of telephones. Individualism remains a problem too, as does racism, although the 1971 strike showed that poor whites and poor blacks could work together for economic ends, if not for integration.

The last organizing effort in the South that roughly compares to the GPA—the Southern Tenant Farmers Union of the 1930s—does not offer a hopeful precedent. The STFU succumbed primarily because of internal

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bickering over ideology and the eventual mechanization of cotton harvesting. Machines that will clear-cut forests are being developed by the Drott Manufacturing Company, a subsidiary of Tenneco, as well as other companies. It will be harder, however, to mechanize tree cutting than it was cotton picking, and the GPA has another important advantage over the STFU: a decade of civil rights activism to build on. That decade, while it hasn't achieved brotherhood between the races, has made it possible for blacks to respect themselves and for poor whites to respect, if not to love, blacks. It also enabled a small-town black mayor to be of more help to striking white workers than was the white governor of Mississippi.

Significance of the Summit Talks

Turning Point in Asia

by Allen S. Whiting

President Nixon's trip to Peking can best be characterized in Mao Tse-tung's favorite terms: it was a diplomatic "great leap forward" and a "turning-point in history." The visit began with Mao's historic handshake with Nixon in the intimacy of the Chairman's home, communicated throughout China by newspaper and television. This closed the book of fear and hatred against the "US-Chiang" gang on which all Chinese children have been raised over the past two decades. The visit ended with the President's pledge of "the withdrawal of all US forces and military installations from Taiwan" and his acknowledgment that "there is but one China and Taiwan is a part of China." Thus began our necessary extrication from the Chinese civil war, an involvement which has locked us into confrontation with one-fourth of mankind since June 27, 1950.

Both sides wish to blur their positions and concessions. Mao's ideological and national interests dictate a continuing struggle against "US imperialism." Specifically this means support for Communist insurgencies throughout the world and opposition to US bases and security treaties encircling China's periphery in East and Southeast Asia. President Nixon likewise hopes, for political as well as national interests, to cover his disengagement from Nationalist China. Conservative critics could cost him votes in the forthcoming election. Moreover, delaying the final US withdrawal from Taiwan permits allies in Asia to be reassured that this step does not affect their security relations with either Peking or Washington. In the meantime the Nationalists and Communists can grope for a formula that ends the civil war and returns Taiwan to mainland rule.

But the essence of the Mao-Nixon exchange should not be obscured. More than political rhetoric underlay the President's frequent allusion to "a generation of peace" and his repeated references to the future interaction of today's youth on both sides of the Pacific. For 20 years millions of Chinese children in state supervised schools have prepared themselves mentally for war with a demonic Uncle Sam. They are not like the Hitler *Jugend* who were nurtured on the bile of frustration and aggression to prove themselves through forceful conquest. But defensive anxieties over external threats were heightened by the symbolic US octopus whose tentacles reached from Taiwan into China through reconnaissance aircraft, sabotage teams, and support to Tibetan guerrillas.

Projecting ahead, this indoctrination could increase the risks of misperception, triggering escalation amidst confrontation, as this new generation of Chinese matures into political responsibility. To be sure, the image of an American threat was already on the wane as fear of attack by "Soviet revisionism" prompted millions to dig air-raid shelters and tunnels throughout China's major cities during the past three years. However, the decisive change came with the publicity Peking gave to the Nixons' various activities. Experts can disagree on who actually makes policy behind the scenes. But there is no mistaking the public impact of China's top three—Mao, Chou and Madame Mao—all of whom promoted America's "top two" as they eagerly experienced ballet, gymnastics, communes, factory and venerated shrines of antiquity.

American newsmen mistakenly lamented the absence of Peking's masses dutifully marshaled to hail such distant rulers as Emperor Haile Selassie in the ritualistic motorcade through Tien an men square. Far more important for Chinese audiences, however, was

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the unprecedentedly personal interaction between Mrs. Nixon and cooks, schoolchildren, peasants and workers. The word was out: these are honored guests who appreciate what New China has done.

Just as these meetings and their message qualitatively changed mass Chinese perceptions of the US as a potential threat, so did the joint communique decisively redefine the US position on Taiwan to meet Peking's basic concerns. Until recently, notions of "real estate" dictated the security rationale for maintaining the status quo. Pentagon access to air and naval facilities on Taiwan controlled our basic relationship with China and thereby with all of East Asia. Ever since 1957 when construction began on the strategic bomber base of Ching Chuan Kang, the air force has coveted Taiwan as an unsinkable carrier, secure against local turmoil thanks to the police-state repression of the Chinese Nationalists. More than 6000 US servicemen make this base operational for the Vietnam war. As Okinawa became increasingly unreliable as a storehouse for nuclear weapons as well as strategic bombers, the Joint Chiefs pushed harder for Taiwan's inclusion in the permanent line of US defense arrangements in Asia. That prospect is now ended, once and for all.

Equally important from the Chinese view was suspicion that Washington might suddenly discover self-determination on behalf of the Taiwanese. That nightmare was also laid to rest by the joint communique, although unlike American forces and bases there was no serious prospect of this becoming reality. In 1947 Nationalist troops massacred some 10,000 Taiwanese including the bulk of professional, politically oriented individuals. Since then no evidence of a strong independence movement has emerged on the island, despite protestations to the contrary by Taiwanese exiles abroad. A combination of dramatic economic growth and subtle political suppression far outweighed the numerical imbalance between 12 million islanders and two million mainlanders. Nonetheless, over the past two years Chinese Communist insinuations and accusations linked Washington and Tokyo in alleged collusion to prevent Taiwan's return to mainland rule. That too has ended, provided both sides in the civil war can peacefully unite.

Beyond these major changes, the communique showed agreement to disagree, which had been anticipated by the participants and amply reflected in their respective advance warnings to various audiences. Thus Washington refused to withdraw recognition from Taipei and to terminate its defense commitment. Peking refused to compromise on its insistence that only this final step could permit the full normalization of relations. Contrary to another favorite maxim of the Chairman, neither East Wind nor West Wind prevailed, leaving the dignity if not the diplomacy of both sides intact.

However, it is precisely in diplomacy with third countries, most notably Japan, where partisan criticism from such leading Democrats as Averell Harriman and George Ball seems most justified. Whatever the reasons for secrecy prior to the surprise announcement last July of the Peking visit, subsequent months revealed a steady deterioration of Japanese comprehension of and confidence in US-China policy. Nor did symbolic summitry at Anchorage and San Clemente alleviate the apprehension of Premier Sato and Ambassador Ushiba. Seeing *is* believing, and while the Tokyo commentators differed on "who won" in Peking, they agreed that Japan had been wholly closed out of this Asian game. It was too late for the diverse talents of Assistant Secretary Marshall Green from the eclipsed State Department and John Holdridge from "Dr. Kissinger's staff." Their post-Peking mission to Tokyo could not overcome suspicion that "two's company, three's a crowd" with Washington and Peking aspiring for a duumvirate at Tokyo's expense.

Objectively, nothing should concern Japanese politicians other than pique over being left behind, although such sensitivities can be inflamed in the tumultuous interaction of opposition parties and public opinion. The United States has no way to compete with Sino-Japanese trade, already approaching one billion dollars. No change in the Taiwan Strait can conceivably jeopardize Japan's security in the foreseeable future. But it is often subjective fears, not objective facts, that increase international tensions. White House protestations notwithstanding, the handling of Japan has unnecessarily damaged our most important alliance in Asia, the full effect of which may not be apparent for some time.

Less serious though no less irresponsible has been the administration's refusal to explain the rationale behind its China policy to the American people. Last fall, according to a Gallup poll, more than half the respondents saw China as "the greatest threat to world peace in the next few years." Trading on that fear to justify a "journey for peace" is a deceitful as well as a dangerous game. The White House knows better, as was revealed by the President himself at Guam in July 1969. Although only *The New York Times* "leaked" its full-page version of that backgrounder, reports from follow-on briefings by top US officials in Indonesia, Thailand and India confirmed the foundation of the administration's self-proclaimed "Nixon Doctrine" in Asia.

Three critical assumptions underlay the new approach to China. First, China poses no serious subversive threat because its revolutionary and developmental models no longer seem attractive to others. Second, China is not an expansionist threat because the regime is preoccupied with problems at home. And third, China is not a potential nuclear threat because the United States offers its nuclear deterrence to any US ally or neutral in Asia that is the target of Chinese nu-

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clear bluff or blackmail.

This simple summary of the basic rationale that climaxed with the historic handshakes and the communique in Peking has never been publicly stated by President Nixon or Secretary Rogers. To do so would not only risk conservative wrath, it would make the annual allocation of more than $15 billion in US military expenditures in Asia, excluding Vietnam, subject to heavy congressional cuts.

But the sudden and seemingly superficial alteration of our image of "Red China" was too much for the media, as reflected in the anachronistic Cold War commentaries from Peking. By forbidding any contact between knowledgeable government specialists and the press, the White House guaranteed no leaks or distortion of its policy. However it also guaranteed that a frustrated news corps would be wholly unprepared for the culture shock of Mao's China.

Regardless of grumblings in Moscow or Orange County, the credibility of our policy and its acceptance by domestic opinion cannot but be improved by complete candor on the crucial question of the so-called Chinese threat. Reeducation of audiences at home and abroad is essential to prepare for the international rearrangements that may eventually follow from the exchanges in Peking. For the indefinite future, token trade and travel will limit bilateral Sino-American developments until the US military is withdrawn from Taiwan and the Nationalists have dissolved their government in favor of mainland rule. Presumably Chiang Kai-shek's role must end before his colleagues can make this final move.

In the meantime, multilateral relations pivot on the Sino-American detente, particularly in Northeast Asia. Whether the two Koreas confront one another with a perpetually interacting arms race or formally end their 22-year conflict and move toward normal relations depends as much on the Peking-Moscow-Washington triangle as it does on the Seoul-Pyongyang line. This in turn affects Japanese perceptions of security needs. The 1950 Sino-Soviet alliance, defensively aimed at Japan and any state allied therewith, has long since passed into obscurity. It is time for a fundamental reexamination of Japan's defense policy, in the context of alternative prospects for the interaction of China, the Soviet Union and the United States in Northeast Asia.

These new security situations are matched by new economic possibilities, illustrating the futility of isolating bilateral Sino-American relations from the larger scene. To the simpleminded question, who won in Peking, must come the answer: except for Taipei, nobody lost, including the anxious absentee onlookers from Moscow to Hanoi and from Tokyo to Saigon. Chiang Kai-shek may merit sympathy as an injured party but the loser's fate in a civil war is foreordained. Never has it been so delayed as for the supporters of Nationalist China, and even that "ultimate" moment lies in the distant future. If President Nixon's courage was not matched by his candor on this question, Mao's patience has proven the possibility of sidestepping the Taiwan issue for the mutual interest in changing images on both sides of the Pacific.

Summitry rarely lives up to expectations or is worth the risk of failure at the highest level. On balance, however, the view from the top made it well worth the climb this time.

Staking It All on Illinois

The New McCarthy

by Paul R. Wieck

As two black steelworkers walked away from former Sen. Eugene McCarthy during a campaign stop at a mill on Chicago's South Side, one pinned a McCarthy button on his coat and a broad grin spread over his face. "You're not going to vote for that guy, are you?" his companion demanded. The man replied: "Well, he was right in 1968 and I probably wouldn't have voted for him then. I just might this year." His companion snorted that McCarthy was "still a honky" and they disappeared into the crowd.

There's something startling about the reservoir of good feeling McCarthy taps when he gets away from the hyper-activists who feel betrayed, away from the cynics bewildered by behavior that strikes them as

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enigmatic. Out among the voters, the uninvolved, he's accepted as about the only politician they remember who was right when they were wrong or, if they were right themselves, the man who did a good thing four years ago when everyone else hung back.

It's the breadth and depth of this response McCarthy plans to test in Illinois' preferential primary on March 21, a primary he readily admits is "crucial" for him. To test it, he scheduled three weeks of intense campaigning, a media campaign that will cost at least $250,000 and is making himself accessible to people in a way that astonishes those who remember 1968.

Just how important the preferential vote that pits McCarthy against Muskie in a head-on contest is can be debated. The preferential vote isn't binding on Illinois' delegates; instead, convention delegates are elected separately by congressional district and are allowed to list their candidate preference on the ballot. At that level, the big contest is between slates pledged to Muskie and to McGovern and to groups of uncommitted delegate candidates. Because he made his decision to enter Illinois late, McCarthy's supporters were able to circulate the petitions for only 39 delegate candidates pledged to their man. Both Muskie and McGovern have over 100 pledged to them. So, even if McCarthy scores heavily in the preferential primary against Muskie, someone else is going to be claiming most of the delegates and pointing out *they're* the ones who vote in Miami Beach.

McCarthy doesn't let that bother him. He looks upon his confrontation with Muskie as an opportunity to dramatize the contrast between the two. This year, McCarthy is looking to issues, not delegates, as the inportant thing, and Illinois strikes him as a good place to start.

The McCarthy of 1972 is behaving strangely. His platform style is essentially the same. But where in 1968 he barely endured question and answer sessions that followed most speeches, he now stays on until every question has been asked. He doesn't seem bored; he doesn't mind answering the same question twice. Perhaps he has detected a change in the mood of the electorate. It was enough to be against the war in 1968 although, after Kennedy entered, the young insisted on hearing him say, at every stop, that both Hoover and Hershey had to go. Today, it isn't enough to be right or to have been right in the past on Vietnam, though it helps to get you a hearing. This year the voters are laying back, quietly testing the candidates. McCarthy has decided to give them ample opportunity in Illinois.

To reach the millions of Illinois voters (over 5 million are registered for the primary), McCarthy has used every device at his command. He accepts invitations for radio talk shows that encourage listeners to call in questions. He travels from campus to campus, drawing overflow crowds. He lingers after the rally to socialize with small groups of devotees. One day, he visited three farms in northern Illinois, coming away with such tidbits as the price of land ($1000 to $1500 per acre), and the fact that the state is running superhighways diagonally across farms, creating triangular fields. "It's hard to farm a triangular field," the farm boy in McCarthy observed. "The farmers don't like to have good land cut up for highways."

In the city, he campaigns anywhere voters gather. One afternoon found him mobbed by women in Marshall Field's department store, some of them streaming in off the sidewalks to catch a glimpse when word spread he was there. He allows "bowling" to be scheduled at the end of a busy day, because that's where you find working class voters at night. His manner is gentle, patient. At a park on Chicago's South Side, children swarmed around while he showed the boys how to palm a basketball. A little girl, black like the sea of faces around her, tugged at his coat for a hearing. He knelt down and the child's rap poured out. "You know why people vote for Nixon. Because he's so mean . . . Oh, God. Have you seen his wife?" Later, she insisted on taking a salty advance man from Manhattan's political jungles home with her because her parents would never believe she'd talked to McCarthy unless she provided proof with a white face. It makes for good pictures. For Shelley Ramsdale, the young photographer who traveled with McCarthy in 1968 and returned to the campaign a few weeks ago, it's a whole new experience. He sits protecting stacks of prints showing a smiling McCarthy with people of all descriptions.

It's a bit freaky for a reporter who followed McCarthy in '68. In a community center in East St. Louis, I watched a group of middle-aged black women taking buttons off McCarthy staff members and asking for more to pass out. He had just spent a half hour discussing their problems with them, telling them the first need is income, explaining that the housing problem will be easier to deal with after a start has been made on the income problem. Minutes earlier, McCarthy had sat on a concrete bench outside to have his picture taken with some children. How this would have delighted his legions of middle-class white followers only four years ago when McCarthy was usually testy with blacks who questioned him on his views, often coldly referring them to his record. The whole scene was enough to convince the most skeptical that every McCarthy worker from 1968 owes it to himself or herself to come aboard for a few days just to see it.

Of course, there's a lot of the old McCarthy left. He still has his way with words, a talent for summing up a situation in a neat phrase. For instance, campus audiences demand from every candidate a statement on legalizing marijuana. McCarthy, with typical understatement, replies they "ought to put a warning on the package." It breaks up his audiences. As the

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answer sinks in, they laugh and clap and stand to cheer. He doesn't give the standard candidate reply—"all the evidence isn't in yet." He follows it up by saying we also need to investigate the possibility of legalizing hard drugs, perhaps adopting a version of the British system.

Now, all is not sweetness and light in the McCarthy entourage. The cast is smaller, much smaller, but the same old struggle is going on between the activists who want another people's campaign down in the precincts and a few around the candidate who wince at the sight of every new carload of kids arriving to help—from Oregon, Montana, Minnesota, New York. They're there to organize, to canvass, to do anything that needs to be done. But that's not part of the '72 game plan. The present effort is described by McCarthy, himself, as a "media campaign." He explains, and it makes sense, that Illinois is too big and the time remaining too short for a massive volunteer effort of the sort that worked in New Hampshire and Wisconsin four years ago. To help plan the media effort, McCarthy aide-de-camp Jerry Eller found Sandy Weiner, a California media specialist, and brought him to Illinois to film the candidate in action. Weiner's list of credits is long—from McCloskey to Cranston to Wilson Riles, the man who ousted State Superintendent Max Rafferty in 1970. Weiner brought his own staff with him.

Despite the scant attention being given to organizing, it's still happening. At Southern Illinois U. in Carbondale, a student named Bill Arndt put together a McCarthy group and then called Chicago to tell them about it. Listening to him tell how his group, which has grown to between 60 and 80, has already canvassed Carbondale and some of the surrounding towns and how he planned to put 65 in the field the next day, I sensed the same excited commitment that swept through McCarthy ranks in '68. Regardless of decisions made at headquarters, the Bill Arndts are going to be coming out of the woodwork to plague the few who want a more orderly campaign. Right now, McCarthy's Chicago headquarters has something of the atmosphere of reunion. Only the advance guard was there two weeks before the primary—Sarah Kovner from New York, June Degnan (she's also an official in the McGovern campaign) from California, Midge Miller from Wisconsin—young men and women who have never lost faith, as well as an assortment of new faces. Sam Brown, who at last report was going to do something for McGovern in Colorado, was due the next day to tour downstate campuses for McCarthy. Up in the suburbs, Marge Sklencar was working on the telephone at home, her first political venture since Goodell went down in New York. Familiar names, familiar faces.

To complement the bought air time, McCarthy is showing a good sense of how to get free time. A recent downstate swing is a good example. He traveled by commercial plane, but at each stop he deplaned for a brief press conference that brought out the local TV crews. Just a few questions and answers but something for the local evening news. He did something else. At each stop, he toured the waiting room, shaking hands all around. The response was warm. In Rockford, a woman rushed up to kiss him. At another stop, a woman about to board the plane gushed that she'd "already gotten her big thrill" of the trip. On the plane, a man came up to wish him luck and apologize for not being able to work harder for him this year because he'd been ill. In Springfield, where McCarthy held a full-scale press conference at the state capitol, two girls came to present him with a bunch of daisies, a memento of one of the popular McCarthy campaign stickers of 1968.

It's not simply that McCarthy is getting a good response when he goes to people. They come to him. In Chicago, he was invited to address a luncheon of a young executives club. It was sold out; its sponsors told him they could have sold three times as many tickets if they'd had room.

Although he's running against Muskie in the preferential primary, the thrust of McCarthy's Illinois effort is impersonal, directed against the "inertia" of his party. The party, he says, would be better off if it had been concentrating on issues rather than personalities for the past three years. He says the Democrats haven't had a good platform since 1948, the year Truman was far ahead of the country on civil rights, education, farm policy. It's no longer a party of innovation, McCarthy says, blaming candidates such as Muskie, whom he describes as "trying to sneak in by just being quiet."

Economics has been McCarthy's specialty for some years. The country needs an "incomes policy" for the poor, he says, a level of not less than $5500 for a family of four. He points out the last time the country "spread employment" was in 1932, when the 40-hour week, eight-hour day was adopted. The federal government must act in this field again, possibly through a shorter work week or shorter work year. McCarthy isn't a great proponent of "make work" programs, arguing instead that the corporate world must absorb at least half of the five million unemployed, partially through the spread-work proposals he outlines. He also wants a redirection of resources away from flashy programs such as the exploration of space ("all the good that comes from manned space shots now is President Nixon says they give him a thrill"), away from the heavy burden of military expenditures, from highway construction and the automobile ("an economic and social burden"). He's contemptuous of our system of medical care, describing doctors as "seeming to proceed as if sickness were invented for doctors rather than vice versa."

The China question comes up from time to time.

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Again, his thrust is against Democratic inertia and those party spokesmen who "surrendered to the Nationalist Chinese propaganda" and didn't have a China policy until Nixon forced their hand. He tells his audiences that this issue "ran out" five to 10 years ago, that he campaigned for recognition of Peking in the California primary in 1968 and doesn't think he lost any votes because of it. Of Nixon's Peking trip, he suggests that it would have been "better to have moved to recognize China in a proper and orderly way" before the trip was made.

He isn't trying to relive the trauma of Chicago in 1968; he never brings it up. He doesn't see Mayor Daley as a "personal foe," he explains, except in that Daley represents the "survivalist" syndrome that can only think of beating Nixon and fails to give voters a meaningful, programmatic choice. He does hit Daley on a concrete issue, however—the $1-billion cross-town expressway in Chicago and Daley's proposed airport-in-the-lake. There is noticeable discontent with the mayor's passion for pouring concrete to keep the corporate world and the construction trades happy and it's become an issue in Dan Walker's independent bid for the party's gubernatorial nomination. Cynics say the expressway, the airport-in-the-lake and a new stadium on the lake front are being planned by Daley as permanent memorials that will bear his name.

Daley, however, is far too preoccupied to worry much about the preferential primary; he's not even expected to slate Muskie, although the Maine senator will probably get a heavy vote from the huge Polish community in Chicago that's closely tied to the Daley machine. Daley has other battles to fight this year, three of them. In Chicago, his organization filed its delegate candidates as "uncommitted." Muskie and McGovern graciously kept out of his way in most of the districts, concentrating their pledged slates in the 17 districts outside the city. Nevertheless, there are anti-Daley slates in Chicago, notably Rep. Sid Yates' North Shore district, and Daley wants to keep his block of votes intact so he'll have something to bargain with at Miami Beach. Whatever the outcome, he'll have fewer chips to play than in '68, when he dominated the entire delegation.

Daley's candidate for governor, Lt. Gov. Paul Simon, is up against the well-financed independent candidacy of Dan Walker, and in the state's attorney race, Daley is in a three-way bind. His organization first slated and then dumped the incumbent, Edward Hanrahan. Hanrahan wouldn't be dumped, however, and Daley's new man—Raymond Berg—finds himself pressed on the right by Hanrahan and his huge following among blue-collar ethnics in Chicago and the Cook County suburbs and on the left by Donald Page Moore, the attractive candidate entered by the independent liberals. Again, Daley may have to turn to the teeming, machine-run black wards of south Chicago to save the machine from disaster.

Like Daley, Muskie and McGovern are not paying much attention to the preferential voting. In the Muskie camp, most of the energies have been devoted to trying to sort out its delegate slates, which differ in complexion from district to district. In some places, they're tied in with the Walker and Moore campaigns. Elsewhere, they're backed by the regular party organizations, and in the far reaches of downstate Illinois they're competing with the remnants of the late Paul Powell's organization. It all adds up to utter confusion.

McGovern's strength is centered in the Chicago suburbs and a couple of downstate districts with a heavy student population (in the 21st district, there are 65,000 students at the University of Illinois in Champaign and Illinois State at Normal). Going into the final days, the McCarthy and McGovern people appear to be working together in districts where McCarthy doesn't have a delegate slate, the first real sign of a stop-Muskie coalition in a primary (a similar coalition worked the Minnesota caucus). That collaboration will help McCarthy in the preferential primary against Muskie, at the same time giving McGovern's delegate slates an extra boost.

What should be expected of McCarthy in Illinois? He answers by saying "something less than a majority" would be satisfactory, say 35 to 40 percent against Muskie. He draws a delicate contrast with Wisconsin. If he were in a one-to-one preferential fight there, a majority would be needed. But given the handicap of the Chicago machine, he shouldn't be expected to poll as heavily in Illinois to be judged a winner.

After New Hampshire, no one can be sure what shape Muskie will be in by March 21. If he stumbles in third or fourth in Florida, he'll look less than impressive and not too much will be gained by tripping him up in Illinois. However, if he comes in a solid second in Florida and moves on to Illinois looking for a solid win to set the stage for a follow-up in Wisconsin, McCarthy will have a real, live target. Under those circumstances, an outright win would give McCarthy a running start in Wisconsin, where he'll have two weeks to test the good will of the Democrats in a state which gave him 58 percent of their vote against LBJ in 1968.

Beyond Wisconsin, McCarthy has his eye on Oregon and California, where a strong residual strength is registered in the polls, and New York, the scene of his final triumph in the preconvention maneuvering in 1968. A string of wins in those states would give him a bloc of delegates at Miami Beach of sufficient size to do some hard bargaining on the issues, plus an excuse to move out into a fourth party if he's convinced the Democratic party isn't giving the voters a real alternative. "We didn't have much of a choice in 1968," he recalls, bringing to mind his repeated promises to student audiences that they'll have one in 1972.

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JULES FEIFFER

UNTIL THE PRESIDENT SAID HE NEVER QUESTIONED THE SINCERITY OF HIS OPPONENTS-

I NEVER QUESTIONED THEIR SINCERITY EITHER.

BUT HE MADE ME WONDER.

AND UNTIL THE PRESIDENT SAID HE NEVER QUESTIONED THE PATRIOTISM OF HIS OPPONENTS-

I NEVER QUESTIONED THEIR PATRIOTISM EITHER.

BUT HE MADE ME WONDER.

AND THEN I WONDERED IF I WAS SUSPICIOUS OF THE SINCERITY AND PATRIOTISM OF THE PRESIDENT'S OPPONENTS-

AND NIXON WASN'T-

COULD I TRUST HIS LEADERSHIP FOR ANOTHER FOUR YEARS?

SO I DECIDED TO SWITCH SIDES.

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

A Masterpiece

The British film journal *Sight and Sound* conducted an international poll last fall asking critics to list their ten favorite films of all time. On my list—and on five others—was *Tokyo Story* by Yasujiro Ozu, made in 1953. I first saw it last spring in the Japanese retrospective at the New York Museum of Modern Art. Now *Tokyo Story* is having its first theatrical release in the US. I've seen it again, and I'm happy that it was on my list.

Ozu made 54 films, of which only a handful have been released in this country. I have seen only three besides this one. He was born in 1903, died in 1963, and is one of the two best Japanese directors I know, the other being Akira Kurosawa (*Rashomon, Ikiru*, etc.). In his own country Ozu is called the most Japanese of directors, and a westerner can see at least a little of why this is so. But that is a defining, not a limiting comment. (Who is more Swedish than Bergman?) There is treasure for everyone in *Tokyo Story*—and shame that we have all had to wait so long for it.

The films of Ozu's last period, the ones I know, tend toward a *largo* tempo, and are crystallized in loving but austere simplicity. Kurosawa, a fine artist, is an immediately exciting director; Ozu, a fine artist, is not. Kurosawa is essentially a dramatist, Ozu a lyric poet whose lyrics swell quietly into the epic. Of his four late films, all of which have beauty, *Tokyo Story* is the most successful.

The reader may find it hard to believe that a wonderful work could be made from this story. An elderly couple who live in the south of Japan, with their unmarried schoolteacher daughter, go to visit their married children and their grandchildren in Tokyo. During their visit they also see their widowed daughter-in-law, whose husband was killed in the war eight years before. The old couple return home, and the old lady sickens, badly. The children gather at her deathbed. After her death, they go home, and the old man is alone.

This material makes a film of two hours and twenty minutes. It also makes a film that encompasses so much of the viewer's life, that you are convinced you have been in the presence of someone who knew you very well. Students of mine were asked recently to write papers on what they know about Chaplin. One of them began: "I don't know how much I know about Chaplin, but he certainly knows a lot about me." That seems to me one excellent definition of superior art, and it applies to Ozu. As for his societal remoteness, the most obvious and fundamentally the truest point about Ozu is that by being "most Japanese," he has been universal.

The beauty begins with the script, written by Ozu and Kogo Noda, who collaborated with him through most of his career. Chishu Ryu, who plays the old man and who acted in very many Ozu films, said (*Sight and Sound*, Spring 1964):

> Mr. Ozu looked happiest when he was engaged in writing a scenario with Mr. Kogo Noda, at the latter's cottage. . . . By the time he had finished writing a script . . . he had already made up every image in every shot, so that he never changed the scenario after we went on the set. The words were so polished up that he would not allow us even a single mistake.

Other good directors often work otherwise. With Ozu the result is not mechanical execution of a blueprint but the fulfillment of a design. He knows that when a passing neighbor wishes the old couple bon voyage at the beginning, the same neighbor will speak to the lonely old man at the end. He knows that, when he shows us a baseball uniform hanging on a clothesline outside a son's window, it will later tie in thematically with the daughter's class of children singing Japanese words to the tune of "My Old Kentucky Home."

The subjects dealt with in this film are the subjects of soap opera—with one crucial difference. As the film starts, as we "locate" its components and its movement—the trip to Tokyo—we expect that there will be dramatic developments. *There are none*, except for the death of the old woman very near the end. A lesser filmmaker would have thought: "Now what complications must I devise to keep things interesting?" Ozu, with Noda, thinks only: "What are these lives like? *Really* like?" And by holding to truth, much more than to naturalism, he gives us a process of mutual discovery, the characters' and ours.

In Tokyo the old couple learn that their doctor son is not quite the success, nor quite the man, they imagined; and that their married daughter has been coarsened into a penny-biting, suspicious shopkeeper. The breath of love they did not expect is from the daughter-in-law, who is still bound to her dead husband's memory, although both she and his parents know he wasn't the most admirable of men. In responsive concern, it is they, the parents, who urge her to remarry.

Three instrumentalities give this film its exquisite cinematic texture. First, the acting. Ryu, the bent, faintly ludicrous, somewhat egocentric, truly dignified old man. (With a partiality for drink—

(continued on page 34)

Films Worth Seeing

Bartleby. Two fine performances by Paul Scofield (employer) and John McEnery (Bartleby) in a sluggish English version of Melville's story.

Cabaret. A mordant musical based somewhat distantly on Isherwood's *Goodbye to Berlin*. Michael York splendidly shy as the hero, Liza Minnelli good but still Judy-Garlanded as Sally Bowles. Bob Fosse directed with incessant glitter. The intent was to be touching and politically sharp. Result: bric-a-Brecht.

The French Connection. Sappy but zappy. A thorough thriller, about drugs in Marseilles and Brooklyn. Gene Hackman heads a heads-up cast.

The Hospital. George C. Scott blasts off in a wobbly but often bright Paddy Chayefsky script about a middle-aged New York doctor and his young doxy.

The Last Picture Show. In Texas, 1951, a youth comes of age. Familiar? Quite. But much of it well acted and decently directed.

Sunday Bloody Sunday. This hetero-homo London triangle story comes to very little very sententiously, and is damply directed by John Schlesinger. Rates the list because of Glenda Jackson's performance and Penelope Gilliatt's dialogue.

SK

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Le Grand Charles

Memoirs of Hope: Renewal and Endeavor by Charles de Gaulle translated by Terence Kilmartin

(Simon & Schuster; $10)

In 1920 an obscure officer, no doubt talented but notoriously a "mauvais coucheur," at least as difficult as MacArthur, had defied the vanity of the most popular French general of the First Great War (Petain, not Foch) and staked a claim to be an original military thinker as French military thought froze up in complacent contemplation of having "won the war." The Hero of Verdun never forgave the ambitious colonel, and Colonel de Gaulle, who had been as unpopular as a cadet at Saint-Cyr as Foch had been at the Polytechnique—or, possibly, as MacArthur had been at the Point—was merely an acting brigadier-general in the dread spring of 1940, famous for his arrogance and his pessimism. It was later remembered that he told a group of British parliamentarians, just before the collapse of 1940, that "you are visiting an army that is going to be defeated," and human nature being what it is (especially in France) true prophets are more vigorously stoned than false prophets.

The *Memoirs of Hope* are, naturally, an arrogant *apologia pro vita sua*, less dramatic than the earlier volumes and left unfinished by the decisive intervention of political defeat—and death. Formally, they cover the period from 1958 until 1963, but in fact the cover is very inadequate. It may be suggested that perhaps the General did not want to devote too much space to the less successful aspects of his rule, and there were very unsuccessful aspects. After all, the revolt of the spring of 1968, foolish as in many ways it was and certainly foolish as were its leaders, represented serious discontent with the course of the Fifth Republic, and the Opposition, personified if in anybody in Francois Mitterand, had already driven the General in 1967 to the humiliation of a second ballot. Although this is naturally not covered in the fragment that the General has left us, the shock of the Mitterand vote suggested to a good many observers that the Fifth Republic was approaching its decline. Some of the boldest Gaullist enterprises had not come off. Gaullist France was being eclipsed in many ways by renascent Germany and there were fewer brilliant personal successes in foreign policy to cover up the gaps. Naturally enough, the General and his apologists did not want to stress this apparent decline of the Fifth Republic.

What we have here ends long before the crisis of 1968, but it might be suggested that it was the vanity and folly of the Opposition that salvaged the Fifth Republic. Unfortunately the book ends long before the General turned the tables on his highly intelligent but basically foolish opponents. It would have been highly gratifying to get the General's account of the way in which he reversed the tide of battle, but, alas, that is not available.

The news of the death of "the General" suddenly revealed that he had not lost the role for which he cast himself in 1940 and which with a great deal of success he filled from 1958 to 1969 for many millions of Frenchmen (and more millions of Frenchwomen). The characteristic decision that he was to be buried in his village, which had been his Elba, was an ironical comment on the official *pompes funèbres* of the Requiem in Notre-Dame de Paris. Over the genuinely impressive ceremonies in the great cathedral hovered the shade of the hero buried in his remote village on "the frontiers of the East." It was more than an equivalent of Churchill's decision to be buried in the shadow of his ancestor near the Palace of Blenheim. Marlborough and the Emperor deserved, or needed, great physical monuments, more permanent than brass. De Gaulle needed no rival to the tomb in the Invalides (although there are dread rumors that there is to be an extravagantly large monument near the village cemetery). Despite the sourness of the anti-Gaullist politicians over some of the official honors paid de Gaulle's corpse, his legend has already shown its staying power. The importance of the Gaullist tradition does not lie in formal monuments or in gratitude for past services. It is naive to attribute the French withdrawal in 1958 from the brink of another bankruptcy to the mere impact of the General's personality, but the belief that things *had* to get better—or much worse—was part of the stock of ideas, of hopes and fears which de Gaulle was to show he knew how to manipulate. His was a much more important case of the weight of personality than that of Poincaré in 1926.

One of the advantages of the Gaullist "revolution" was the charismatic character of the new leader. Too many of the leaders of the Fourth Republic had exhausted their political bank accounts, often for creditable reasons, while other politicians had, without knowing it, exhausted theirs under the Third Republic and had lingered on, often buoyed up by a vanity that was startling in its fatuity. In his second political career, de Gaulle could disregard that empty rhetorician, Édouard Herriot, and other balloons that had leaked so long and so disastrously in the last years of the Third Republic. De Gaulle was more like the Count of Monte Cristo demanding "unlimited credit" at Rothschild's. And for some fateful years he got it. De Gaulle gained the long success he achieved partly by his histrionic powers. I once heard him say (in private) that he was fed up with all generals, including himself. He could have meant that he felt unfit to be a civilian ruler—or that he loathed the "servitudes et grandeurs" of his civilian role, but I am convinced that he enjoyed his role as the new First Consul, and a basically civilian First Consul, and that his military rank served only to reinforce his civilian role. Salan and the rest did not know their man; neither did Marshal Juin know his. De Gaulle played a new version of Bonaparte playacting as a civilian member of the Institut de France. He did not flaunt his uniform as a member of the Institut; he refused the *médaille militaire* (that Churchill so gladly flaunted). He was content with his modest rank as a mere acting brigadier-general, as Grant and Eisenhower were with their civilian clothes. He wanted to bind up the nation's wounds. He put down mutiny with courage,

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and liquidated a revolt in Algeria with a mastery that Machiavelli would have admired. So instead of wasting French substance in a desperate attempt to salvage what was left of the Empire, de Gaulle surrendered the most cherished jewel in the French imperial crown (imitating, consciously or not, that sagacious statesman, Major Clement Attlee and setting an example to Lieutenant Nixon, USN).

The liquidation of the French Empire was, many think, President de Gaulle's greatest achievement. It meant hauling down the flag; it meant refusing to be backmailed by Sekou Touré, but it paid off, handsomely, largely because de Gaulle finally decided to do the job thoroughly. He knew when to cut his losses and how to take the very serious risks of the operation.

The domestic policy of the General was perhaps more brilliant than solid. It was in many ways really brilliant, for the Gaullist regime could draw on the achievements of the Fourth Republic, carrying to completion many admirable plans of the *grands commis* like Jean Monnet and his colleagues. These achievements showed, or should have shown, that the government of the Fourth Republic was far more respectable than the governments of the last dreary years of the Third.

So there came the revelation not that the Emperor had no clothes, but that the clothes were too often ill-fitting. Indeed, the bad tailoring of the Constitution of the Fifth Republic apparently showed that this Republic was on the skids. But the military mutinies (of *officers*) were worthy of the *Fronde* and the attempt to launch a Left-wing take-over bid was more foolish than Boulangism.

I have no views on the much-debated question of whether the General finally "rode for a fall." At any rate, the absurdities of the interim government were highly educational. To someone coming to a France allegedly on or over the edge of the Revolution, after seeing the quasi-revolutionary outbursts of Washington and Newark, there was something comic in the various professors of revolution waiting like Boulanger and Barrès to be called on to save the Republic. (The highly intelligent cousin of M. Sartre, Pierre-Paul Schweitzer, would have run a *coup-d'état* far better than the philosophers-in-waiting did.) So after so much rerunning of *La Grande Duchesse*, we have France ruled by the first gentile director of the Banque Rothschild. But General de Gaulle *had* saved the Republic and there is a fairly authentic anecdote of Pierre Laval asserting that France had needed two leaders in her terrible years, the General and Laval himself. What a pair they might have made if they could have worked together!

Of course, as a national hero, de Gaulle had serious weaknesses. As Bismarck disliked the Germans (especially South Germans like the Hohenzollerns) de Gaulle combined an abstract admiration for "the Frenchman" with usually active distrust or dislike of most Frenchmen. Compared with de Gaulle, Napoleon I was good-natured! De Gaulle's most devoted staff was highly expendable and he had the quality admired by Dr. Johnson: he was "a good hater." He hated FDR, for example, and that self-satisfied man would have been startled and shocked had he known how much the almost powerless Frenchman despised him. And yet how much more interesting a subject the General is than FDR. We shall not look upon his like again.

Denis Brogan

Insistent Patterns of Repression

After The Planners
by Robert Goodman

(Simon & Schuster; $6.95)

My purpose in this review is to persuade you to mentally ingest either all, or the last quarter (39 pages including illustrations), of this book. If you find, upon reading the following account of the first three quarters, which are devoted to a critique of the Establishment, that you are shocked and repelled, then you should read the whole book. It is clear, nontechnical and sometimes wryly amusing. It is animadversive—an exposition of the themes of youth, by one. If, on the other hand, you find that you take for granted the author's dislike of the planning establishment, then you really need to read only the last quarter.

The book starts with Acknowledgments, as nearly all books of this sincere sort do. The author explains that readers of his manuscript had hoped for a less bitter analysis of the status quo. He writes ". . . if this book reveals my contempt for the inequality and injustice that traditional planning helps to promote in this country then let that rage stand . . .!" Surely a start almost unique in the history of Acknowledgments.

Next in order, Introduction, asks why our present attempts at solutions to our problems continually fail. Mr. Goodman, having searched them, believes that what ". . . emerges is an insistent pattern of arrogant and repressive programs by . . . planners, politicians and corporate leaders, usually in the course of solving what has been called the 'urban crisis.' The solution to this dilemma, I contend, lies not in replacing these men with better-trained experts operating in the same cultural, political and economic context but rather in effecting a radically different role for the urban expert in a radically different context." This is the theme of the book.

There follows roughly 26 short, hard, upper cuts, jabs and (occasionally) rabbit punches aimed at the cranium of our planning infrastructure, with a few low blows at the body politic that supports it. Thus:

> The often disastrous results of the planners work are a function of ". . . their adherence to the conventions of a repressive social structure which is biased against the people their plans are supposed to serve."
>
> "At best we (planners, social workers) help ameliorate the con-

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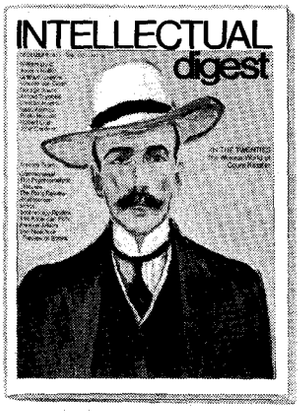

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dition produced by the status quo: at worst we engage in outright destruction."

Public housing does not cure poverty, or eliminate slums, or help restructure social groups.

The increasing involvement of big business in the ghetto is motivated solely by self interest. It is also seen as a way of strengthening corporate reputation and image.

Of 40 anti-pollution boards ". . . thirty-five have officials who are at the same time officials in private corporations that are among the biggest industrial pollutors in the country."

". . . government programs (such as OEO) ostensibly aimed at helping the poor, provide a convenient financial conduit for poverty entrepreneurs who shift between private and public roles."

"Franchise sellers and purchasers of preschool child care centers throughout the country are already collecting government money . . ." and, in a case cited, operate an ingenious scheme to sell parents a host of goods and services.

At the onset of urban renewal "Many architects became 'urban designers' and 'city planners' overnight. . . ."

The federal government's 90 percent subsidy of highways ". . . makes for an irresistible inducement for states to build highways almost anywhere, just to get their hands on the subsidy."

". . . the aesthetic metaphors of the architect's language . . . obscure the real nature (repressive-political) of many of their designs, not only to their clients and the larger population, but to themselves as well."

"As professionals come to perceive themselves as the keepers of a cultural monopoly, they come to feel a unique sense of power in shaping other people's destiny."

"Contrary to popular mythology, planning did not bring socialism—in fact, it became a sophisticated weapon to maintain the existing control under a mask of rationality, efficiency, and science."

Near the end of this long list of indictments I found myself rooting for the guy—hoping against hope that his proposals would be as specific and stimulating as his criticisms. They are stimulating. But they are so radical, so major, that nothing short of a revolution plus an evolutionary transformation of society could bring them about. They reflect, I believe, the aspirations of the dropout-love-commune-peace generation, but that generation has produced virtually no writing of this sort. They act out their discontent, and their social ideals, rather than generalize for society as a whole. They cannot, for obvious reasons, cope with such specifics as architecture or planning. Mr. Goodman has.

"Our problem," he states, "is not simply to destroy capitalism, but to do this through the creation of a culture which will not tolerate the repressive and competitive values which capitalism has already induced us to accept." One type of shift from capitalism would involve ". . . redistributing the wealth of the highway corporations to the disenfranchised [sic] so that they could decide on their own programs, be they building housing, schools, hospitals, or indeed highways." He proposes that the governing entities be: "A system of community socialism (as opposed to either private enterprise or centralized socialism), in which the economic institutions would grow from smaller governing units in the society, . . . [allowing] social outputs to be determined by the people most immediately affected by them. The size of the governing unit, be it called a commune, a neighborhood or a city, would be determined by arrival at a balance between the size necessary to produce certain products economically and the size at which people have an ability to actively participate in governing themselves." Further ". . . the make-up of a neighborhood, commune, or whatever it's called should ultimately be based on the free choice of individuals coming together to create a common way to live. . . ."

Community services for these communes (such as schools, hospitals) should be designed on the basis of amenity as well as money, with no compulsion to choose the cheapest alternative at the expense of humanistic values.

Professionals should eschew their role as outside experts to ". . . become participants in the process of creating physical settings which would foster these ways of life—in effect, we become a part of, rather than an expert for, cultural change. A step in this process is to explore and make our community aware of the causes of environmental oppression—the nature of how real-estate speculation affects design, for example—and to promote the creation of alternative environmental forms."

"Design opportunities can be used as a way of explaining the advantages of community ownership and management of all income-producing ventures—the factories, the housing and the shopping places. The design of housing in particular could expose people to the possibilities of designing for themselves, and to more communal patterns of living together." On the other hand, "the early results of an approach where people design their own environments will probably not suit the needs of the people who have made the design. . . . But as people use their own environments over time, they can be expected to know more about which designs are useful and which ones aren't."

The questions to which a planning scheme must submit are: "Does it help promote political consciousness of the people? Does the demand expose the repression of the established order? Does it address itself to the people's real needs? . . ."

Mr. Goodman also advocates guerrilla (squatters) architecture, *i.e.*, the unauthorized and rapid building of home-made structures on others' land, as a unifying tool for the poor, and as a dramatic propaganda device. Industry would have a place in this scheme of things, but only according to its ". . . ability to produce the kind of building products which would make manipulation of the environment more easily managed by large numbers of non-professionals."

There can be no doubt of Mr. Goodman's passionate sincerity in wanting to improve the quality of our lives. Nor any doubt that he is supplying words for those who are paralyzed by the dichotomy between what we are and what we could be.

Robert Woods Kennedy

"IT WAS AT a post-midnight meeting that Premier Chou En-lai unleashed his anticipated denunciation of the Nixon eight-point peace plan. But of Henry Kissinger, he had no harsh words. Mr. Kissinger, purred Chou, 'has all the characteristics of a man with whom one can argue.' And then silent, he sat back and looked for all the world like a cat who knows where his next canary is coming from, and when."

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Strikes Against Government

The Unions and the Cities by Harry H. Wellington and Ralph K. Winter, Jr.

(The Brookings Institution; $7.95)

Managing Local Government Under Union Pressure by David T. Stanley, with the assistance of Carole L. Cooper

(The Brookings Institution; $6.95)

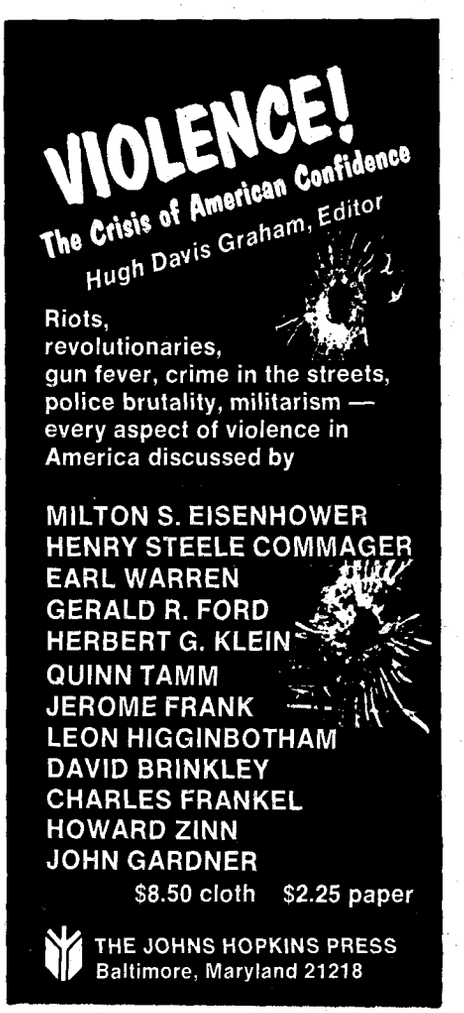
A quick look at the figures on public employment and unionism gives an indication of the importance of the subject. In the last decade, federal employment increased from 2.4 million to 2.9 million. State and local government employment leaped from six million to ten million during the same period. Union membership has more than doubled for government employment to about 11 percent—the only portion of the labor market which is showing gains in union membership. Local governments spend between one-half and three-quarters of their entire budgets for employees' wages and benefits. Government is a growth industry, and public employee unionism is multiplying along with it. At the same time the demands posed by public employees have put a significant strain on many of our municipal budgets, possibly to the detriment of the citizens the workers are meant to serve.

The conflict between the emergence of public employment unionism and the man on the street who finds government more and more distant every day is the subject of these two books, the first of five studies of unionism in government to be published by The Brookings Institution. *The Unions and the Cities*, written by two professors at Yale Law School, is the more reflective and challenging of the pair, delving into the complex legal and political questions posed by this new phenomenon. *Managing Local Government under Union Pressure* is directed more at students of labor and those who may find themselves on either side of the bargaining table. It presents the results of field research conducted in 15 cities and four urban counties in 1969, and mostly it deals with specific issues, from the fashioning of salary schedules to who—boss or worker—will pay for safety shoes. Its chief general conclusion is that "[management] is in the saddle, but the straps are loosening."

But the two important substantive issues—the strike, and the scope of bargaining—are faced in *The Unions and the Cities* where the authors Wellington and Winter assert that militant union pressure has upset the balance of power existing previously in our cities, and poses an even greater threat to newly emerging pressure groups like the poor, blacks and other minorities, whose claim on public resources may be more just than the unions'. Thus they fear that strikes by public workers may lead to a bankruptcy of not only the cities' purse but their political structures. Extending the bargaining into areas of controversy—school class size, police review boards, school discipline—may give the unions power whose long-range effects may prove ruinous to the cities:

> Distortion of the political process is the major, long-run social cost of strikes in public employment. The distortion results from union's [sic] obtaining too much power, relative to other interest groups, in decisions affecting the level of taxes and the allocation of tax dollars. This distortion therefore may result in a redistribution of income by government, whereby union members are subsidized at the expense of other interest groups [such as the poor]. And where nonmonetary issues, such as the decentralization of the governance of schools or the creation of a civilian review board to review police conduct, are resolved through bargaining in which the strike or threat thereof is used, the distortion of the political process is no less apparent.

What concerns Wellington and Winter are the tremendous monetary gains and the control over certain policy matters that some unions have extracted from government in recent years, often through the strike or strike threat. Local officials, they note, unlike their counterparts in private enterprise, are often more interested in preventing the disruption of services than they are in achieving an equitable solution. Often the long-term effects of a quick settlement are not measured, so that retirement benefits or health care premiums may be granted whose impact may fall heavily on future generations. The argument is made by some that if blacks *do* inherit control of our central cities



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they will find them impoverished by exorbitant settlements made hastily by white mayors to public employee unions composed mostly of whites.

There can be little doubt that a clear-headed discussion of this vital subject is long overdue. No longer are our schoolteachers and policemen the house niggers of the labor movement, grateful for whatever handouts the city council deigns to make. They are becoming much better paid, along with sanitation workers, utility men, and firefighters. The magnitude of public employment and the extensive organizing within it has changed the whole ball game. And the passions that can be aroused by public worker strikes are often dramatic and bitter.

Into the melee step Wellington and Winter, offering some reasonable suggestions which they (and I) hope will at least merit an audience. They propose to curtail strikes by developing procedures that create uncertainty between the two parties, so that neither side is sure what the other will give up. Although they dismiss compulsory and binding arbitration as a tool of prevention, they do suggest, for example, the "one-or-the-other" approach. In this an arbitrator chooses either the employer's or the union's final offer; this coaxes both groups to make reasonable suggestions. In some cases, however, the strike cannot be avoided, in which case Wellington and Winter suggest that cities adopt procedures that help reduce the effects of strikes. (The authors do not take the hardened position that *all* strikes by public employees must be outlawed. They realize—and it is a measure of their approach—that strikes affecting nonessential public services may have less impact on the public than one by milkmen or coal miners.) They suggest contingency planning, so that alternate means may be used to handle emergency services, and partial operation of services by supervisors. They also propose changing the political process surrounding the strike threat, by either publishing the actual cost of all offers in newspapers (so that people would be able to translate the cryptic language of contract offers into something they can understand, like a tax increase), or using public referenda for budgets that exceed certain limits. Wellington and Winter see these as ways to get the unions off the backs of public officials without jeopardizing the bargaining process, while simultaneously pushing the arguments into the public arena where they can be weighed within the context of the "normal political process."

Robert Cassidy

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In Brief

The Bankruptcy of Academic Policy
by Peter Caws, S. Dillon Ripley, Philip C. Ritterbush (editor) and others

(Acropolis Books Ltd.; $3.95)

The several contributors to this paperback seem to agree that the American university knoweth not what it doth, but there the agreement ends. The lead piece by Peter Caws is worth the book. He begins rather oddly by comparing a university with a National Park (which "encloses a natural resource . . . and protects it against various forms of exploitation"), the university's chief resource being knowledge, which needs "to be protected against the degradation of popular culture, military and political exploitation and commercial gain." He then proceeds to distinguish radically between the university and the institutions below it, where universal education is the game and the obligation persists to make all our children "into free moral agents and turn them loose" —by 18, according to the new voting rules. The university, then, is above that game and should conduct itself accordingly. It is partly beyond pedagogy; it is the place "where it is reasonable to raise question whether what is to be learned can be taught or not"; it is in other words a place of higher learning rather than higher teaching.

Caws is aware of the immense difficulties of making any American university look remotely like his theory, but says we will probably make nothing happen in education unless we at least pretend that it *has* happened. Thus if the university discovers—and it certainly will, it certainly does—that the students who show up for the higher learning have not learned the lower learning, then the university has an obligation to bolster the lower learning by complaining, by helping, by getting involved. Caws suggests for example that the lower learning is now in fact so badly off that "the university system as a whole might call a moratorium, for a period of five years, say, on the production of any except the most indispensable new experts in specialized fields, and concentrate its entire attention on the production of teachers for the lower schools." That would raise hell with the park notion temporarily, but in the long run might keep the university from losing sight of its own proper role. We cannot, says Caws, "save the university by turning it into something else"—like, say, another high school. *The Bankruptcy of Academic Policy* is the first of a promising new series of paperbacks—trade name *Prometheus*.

Political Brokers
by the Editors and Reporters of National Journal
edited by Judith G. Smith

(Liveright; $7.95)

Land of the free and home of the lobby—especially DC. Here is a useful and depressing volume giving the names and numbers of all the players in the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA), American Medical Political Action Committee (AMPAC), Committee on Political Education (COPE), Business-Industry Political Action

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Among SIR DENIS BROGAN's *many books are* Worlds in Conflict *and* The French Nation. *This semester he is in residence at Claremont College.* ROBERT CASSIDY *is a city planner and freelance writer.* ROBERT WOODS KENNEDY *is an architect in Cambridge, Massachusetts.*

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Committee (BIPAC), The National Committee for an Effective Congress (NCEC), National Republican Congressional Committee, The Ripon Society, Democratic National Committee (DNC), and Common Cause.

The programs, politics and tactics of each organization are described, together with a history, membership data and brief biographical sketches of key figures. There is also an appendix listing nearly 200 *other* pressure organizations including 18 Democratic party committees, which cast $4 million on the waters in 1970, and 17 Republican party committees dispensing $13 million. Outside the party organizations, COPE was the biggest spender in 1970 ($969,000) with AMPAC second ($693,000), but almost no one is not represented somehow in the nearly always losing battle to prove that John Stuart Mill was right.

Truth and Untruth: Political Deceit in America by Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.

(Simon & Schuster; $7.95)

Paul McCloskey did not do well in the New Hampshire primary, but he is a forceful speaker, and his book is an extended campaign speech, more clearly expressed than most. In it he expounds his theory that the federal government in the last decade has turned in on itself and become indifferent to the public, hostile to truth. McCloskey argues that the public, in return, has lost interest in government. Both tendencies—deceit and apathy—have spread like an epidemic, threatening to cut the last remaining lines of communication between the people and their governors. Although McCloskey finds precedents for official deception in the censorship of World War II, he says the present binge of duplicity began with the U-2 spy flight of Francis Gary Powers (May 1960), which President Eisenhower first tried to pass off as a weather-spotting mission gone astray. After that, the escalation was rapid: the public has been lied to, he says, about the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961, the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, the overthrow of Diem in 1963, and repeatedly about the Indochina war since then. This book concentrates on the Nixon years in a discussion that is more journalistic than philosophical. The view is panoramic, taking in the SST debate and the White House fight to keep secret the unfavorable "Garwin report," the biological weapons disaster in which hundreds of sheep were killed near the Dugway testing grounds, the secret bombing of Laos and hiring of Thai mercenaries, the Haynsworth and Carswell nominations, and numerous memo-trading battles with federal departments. Besides getting in his anti-Nixon digs, McCloskey is trying to break the government's addiction to euphemism. In "Politics and the English Language" (1946), George Orwell described the kind of beast McCloskey's up against, one that issues packaged news by the carload: "A mass of Latin words falls upon the facts like soft snow, blurring the outlines and covering up all the details. The great enemy of clear language is insincerity. When there is a gap between one's real and one's declared aims, one turns as it were instinctively to long words and exhausted idioms, like a cuttlefish squirting out ink." McCloskey's book doesn't achieve Orwell's eloquence, but it recognizes as he did that "Political language . . . is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind." The only solution McCloskey suggests is that every citizen should pledge a tithe—one-tenth of his time and money—to support "the issue, campaign or candidate" he thinks will bring about "excellence in government." In its hurried way, the book brings up many of the questions people should be asking the government at this election, but the utopian tithe proposal will not go far in answering them—not at least in New Hampshire.

Correspondence

Day Care

Sirs:

Patricia Bourne's "What Day Care Ought to Be" (February 12) makes the same point those who oppose HR 1's Title IV have been making all along. Because decent day care is expensive (we agree with her estimate of $2500 per year per preschool child) there is little liklihood that the government is willing to pay for it. The kind of day care the government *is* willing to pay for un-

"Hate America? I don't hate America. I regret it! I regret that Columbus ever discovered it!" —SIGMUND FREUD

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der HR 1 is cheap and damaging – and for poor children only. To see how cheap these programs would be, note that HEW intends to spend about $866 for family day care under HR 1; yet, in 1967 HEW estimated that desirable family day care cost $2372.

Natalie Heineman
President, Child Welfare League of America

The Lonely Crowd

Sirs:
Because of a dropped line in my March 4 reconsideration of *The Lonely Crowd*, Vance Packard emerged as author of *The Affluent Society*. The sentence should have read: ". . . indeed, *(The Lonely Crowd)* can be said to have made sociology 'popular,' being the first of several '50s books, of varying merit, that set middle-class America on a binge of self-scrutiny: Whyte's *The Organization Man*, Mills' *The Power Elite*, Packard's *The Status Seekers*, Galbraith's *The Affluent Society*."

JONATHAN YARDLEY
Greensboro

Foreign Broadcasts

Sirs:
Your March 4th comments on Radio Free America and Radio Liberty, the likes of which you disapproved, pondered how Congress would respond to Soviet transmitters in Cuba propagandizing the United States with their version of "the truth."

Perhaps things have changed since I was active as a radio amateur in the mid-1960s, but back then international shortwave had such broadcasts. From Cuba a station calling itself "Radio Free Dixie" beamed the Marxist view of reality to the Yanquis up North. It frequently featured Black American expatriates. And from Siberia a five million watt (effective radiated power) transmitter beamed and still beams Radio Moscow, in English, down the American West Coast. On my ham equipment it came in consistently better than the Voice of America station under a hundred miles away.

So do not worry; both sides get air time.

Lowell Ponte
Commentator, KPFK-FM

'72 Campaign

Sirs:
If, as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. states or implies in his February 26 article, George McGovern has an "instinct for foreign policy" and is not a "cautious nominee," then why sometime in the first half of 1971 did McGovern say that the Vietnam War was no longer a campaign issue, apparently agreeing with Nixon that the war would not be an issue in 1972? Simply because it was not in the news in a big way at that time?

Ray Tangney
Holyoke, Mass.

Sirs:
A word count run on the public utterances of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. would I think confirm the impression that the term "Eugene McCarthy" occurs laughably seldom. Consider his latest in your pages ("The Case for George McGovern," February 26): The early emphasis by omission of McCarthy's name from the list of the "several Democratic possibilities" who may be "perceived as telling the truth" would be outrageous were it not so unnecessary, so dishearteningly petty. When Schlesinger at last brings himself actually to articulate the anathema, it is only as a means to seek shelter for the name Kennedy under the aegis of "the New Politics of 1968" (can he really think readers of *NR*, of all people, have no memory of the dominant associations of that phrase in the bitterness of Chicago '68?). Schlesinger then goes on to assert that his choice is "the one candidate whose nomination would make it difficult for even Eugene McCarthy to start a fourth party."

May I suggest that Senator McGovern's candidacy is ill-served by such snide divisiveness? For example, it scarcely makes McCarthy supporters here in Pennsylvania (who helped to generate some 473,000 votes in the 1968 primary) more eager to continue working, as we now are, for McGovern delegates. Schlesinger's sentence continues: "Indeed, McCarthy has said he might support McGovern." One can but sigh once again. Can there *never* come the suggestion (and preferably from McGovern himself) that the gesture might just possibly, if worse came to worst, be reciprocated? Would that be *too* much?

Dan A. Wheaton
Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania

Kauffmann, *from page 24*

Ozu understands contradictions.) Chieko Higashiyama, his wife, quite homely, who – like Eleanor Roosevelt – becomes *facially* beautiful as her spirit is manifested. Setsuko Hara, the daughter-in-law, tall, ungainly, humane (one feels) partly out of fear to be selfish, out of fear of desire, but nevertheless humane.

Then there is Ozu's punctuation. As a composer uses rests or holds a chord, he puts in a shot of an empty street after a busy scene, or a railroad track, or a small ship passing, or a corridor in a house. This gives us time to let what has just happened sink in even further and helps to place it. The world, imperturbable, surrounds the perturbations of its people.

Third, inevitably, Ozu's eye. His famous characteristic is the "Ozu shot," the camera placed at the eye-level of a person seated on a *tatami*, the Japanese floor-mat. Much of the film is seen from this "national" viewpoint, even when characters are standing. That's perhaps as much a matter of psychology as of vision. Ozu's vision gives us such compositions as the stout old woman and her little grandson silhouetted on a hilltop; the old couple seated on a curved sea-wall at a resort outside Tokyo, seen from behind, tiny but together against the illimitable sea; or the camera moving slowly past a pavilion in a Tokyo park until, around the corner, we see, again from behind, the old couple seated, eating their lunch – a moment of inexplicable, deep poignancy. In these scenes and many others, Ozu seems to be saying: "These are atoms. In any one atom is the universe. My task is not to dishonor the universe by honoring these atoms."

Symmetry is important to him but never becomes tiresome. Two pairs of sandals outside a hotel bedroom door, very precisely placed, show that two people, en route through their lives together, are spending this particular night behind that door. On a larger scale, he balances sequences. At the beginning, the parents travel to the children; at the end, the children travel to the parents. In Tokyo the old woman and the daughter-in-law have a scene alone together, a very moving one in which the old woman spends the night in the younger woman's small apartment while the old man is out drinking with some pals. At the end it is the old

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man who has a scene alone with the daughter-in-law, after his wife's death. He tells her that his wife said her night in the apartment was her happiest time in Tokyo, and he gives the girl the old woman's watch as a keepsake.

Which raises the subject of scale. Everything in the film is calibrated with such refinement that feelings are always restrained but never lost; so that when the girl takes the watch and cries quietly, the effect is of a tremendous emotional climax.

If I had to choose one word as the theme of *Tokyo Story*, it would be "passage." Time passing, life passing, with the ache and (if we admit it) the relief that this implies. Out of the loins of these two people whom we see sleeping quietly side by side came the children who are now turned away from them, and we know it will happen to the children with their children; and the old people know it and, without saying so, are content to have had what they had and to have been part of the process.

If I had to choose one word to describe Ozu himself, it would be "purity." Like the Dreyer of *Joan of Arc*, the Bresson of *Diary of a Country Priest*, Ozu gives us the sense that questions of talent and ambition have been settled or forgotten, that he is now self-centered in what can be called a selfless way. In *Tokyo Story* he is placing on the screen the very least that will fulfill the truth of what he has seen. There is no brave consciousness of integrity. He is simply consecrated to serving life simply, and proudly.

Note. It's very unlikely that *Tokyo Story*, now at the New Yorker in Manhattan, will automatically play a large circuit of theaters. I urge the reader to urge a local manager to book it. Address New Yorker Films, 2409 Broadway, New York, NY 10024.

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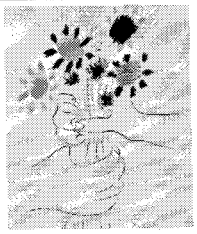

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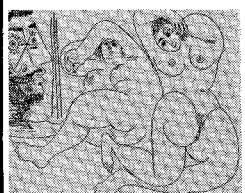

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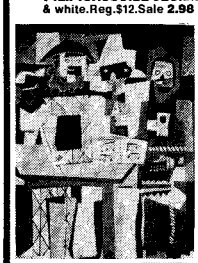

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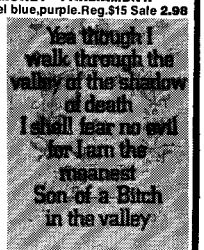
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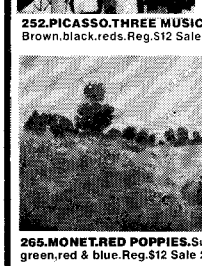

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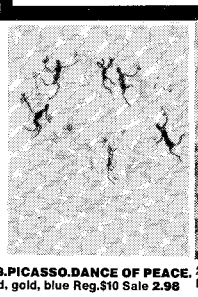

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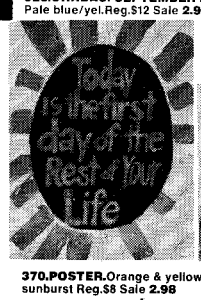

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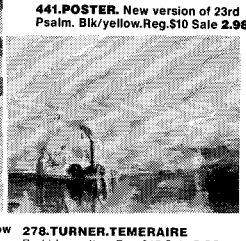

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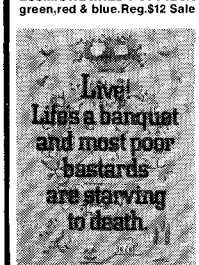

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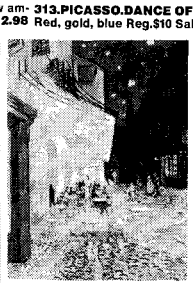

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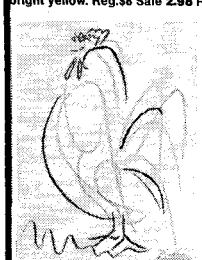

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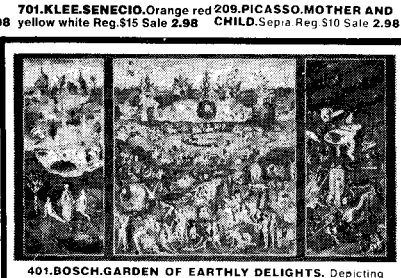

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